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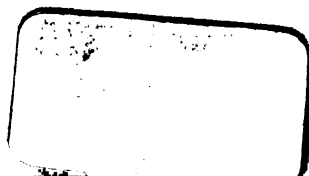
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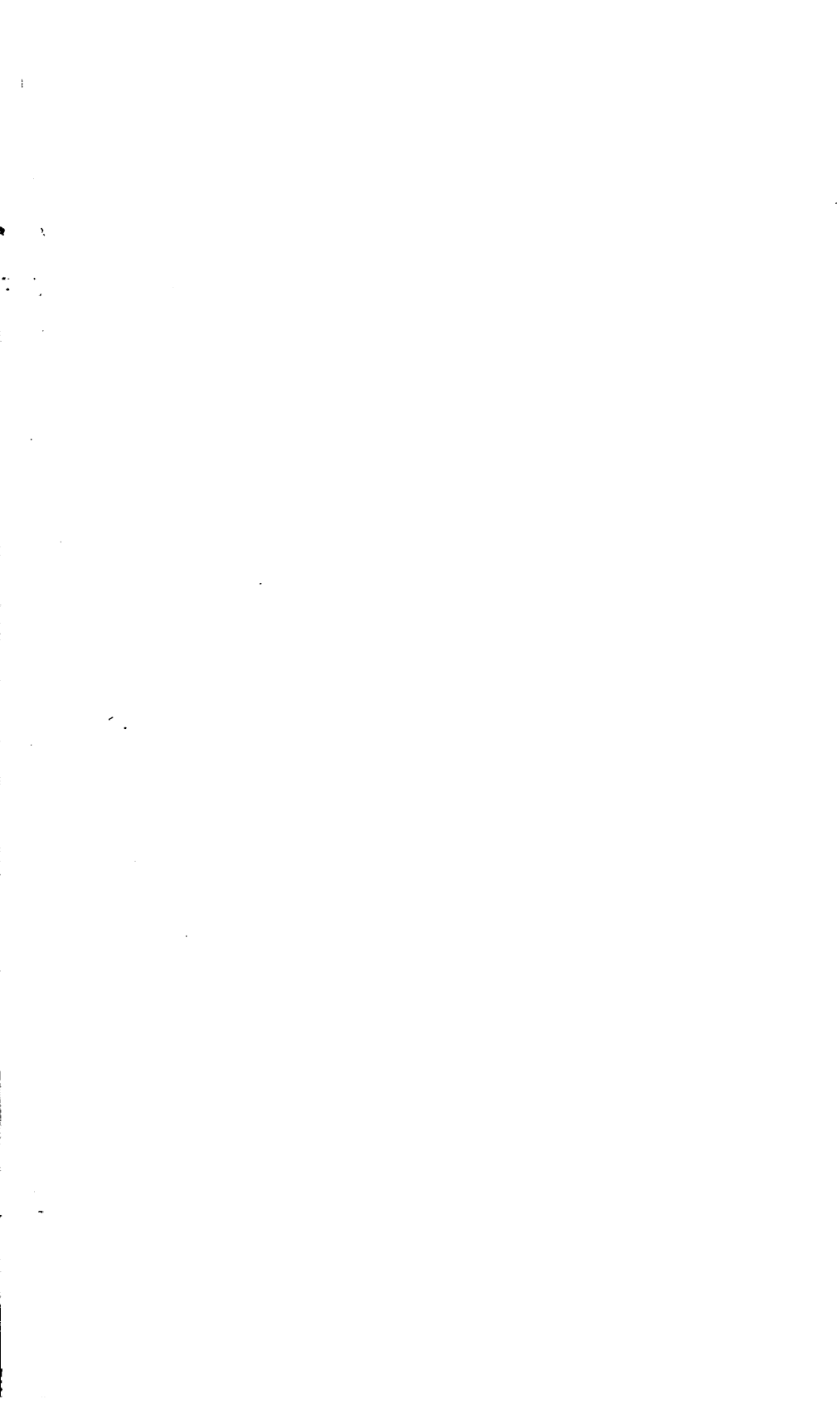
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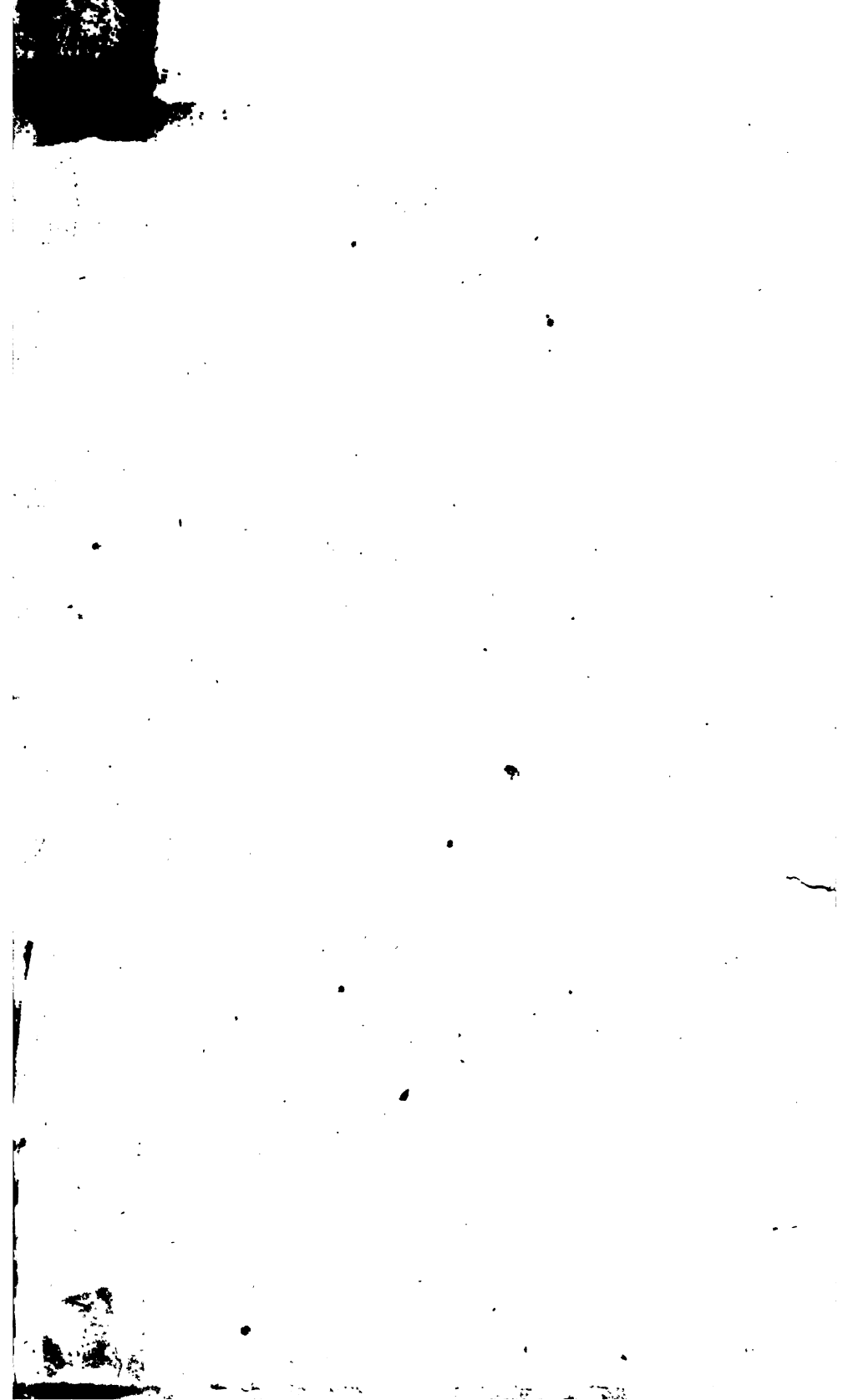
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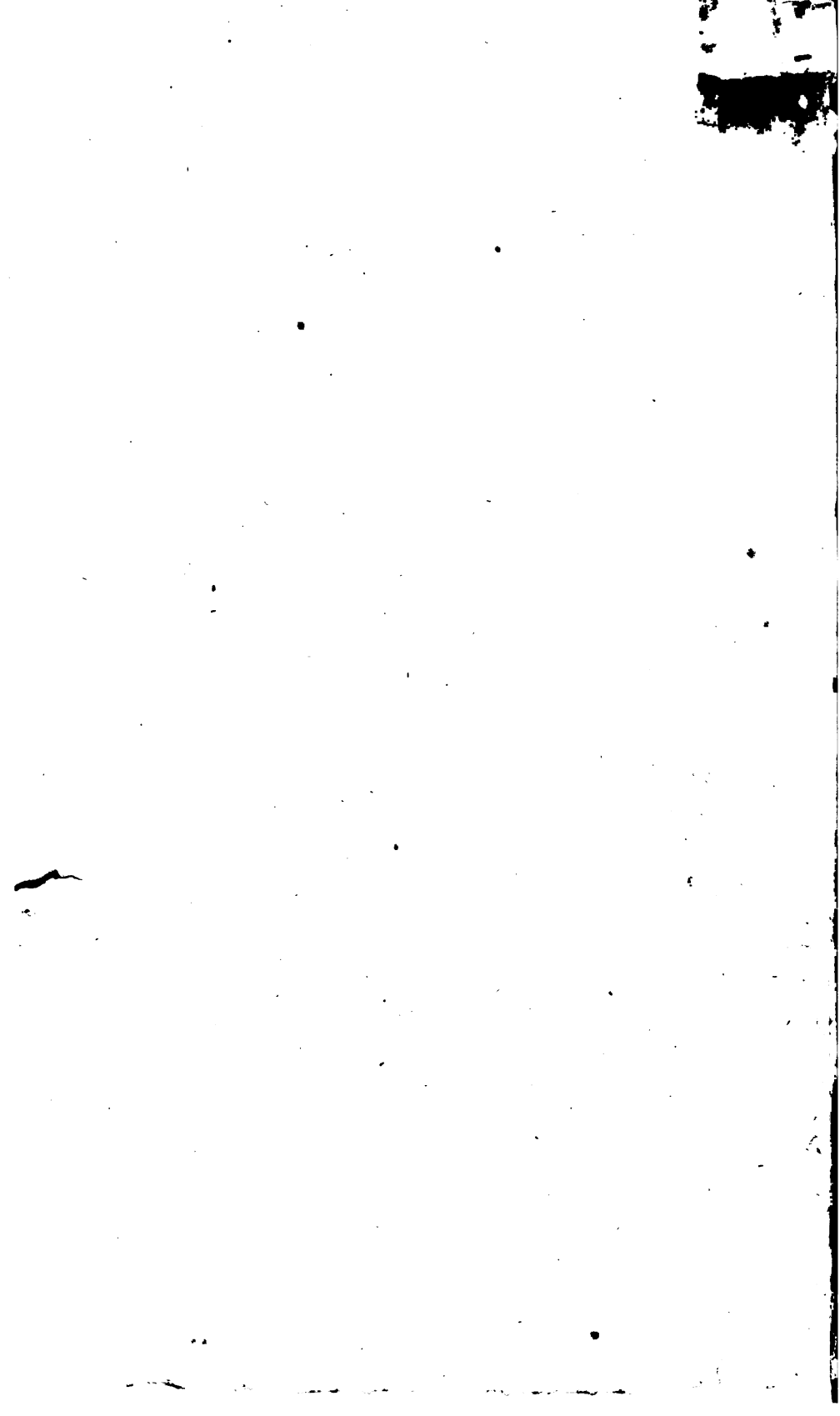


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SKETCH
OF
A TOUR
IN THE
HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND;
THROUGH
PERTHSHIRE, ARGYLESHIRE,
AND
INVERNESS-SHIRE,
IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1818:
WITH
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LONDON:
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TOUR

IN THE

HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND.

CHAP. I.

FROM PERTH,

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Roads from Perth to Blairgowrie—Strathmore—Sidla and Grampian ranges—Carse of Gowrie—Dundee—Cupar Angus—View from Sidla hills—Blairgowrie—Craighall—Manse—Cally Bridge—Glenshee—Strathardle—Kirk-michael.

IT is familiar to those acquainted with the geography of Scotland, that the Grampian mountains form a frontier range, extending in a line north-east and south-west almost from sea to sea, from Loch Lomond on the south-west to Stonehaven in the Mearns in the north-east,

dividing the whole of the country into two portions, the lowlands on the south and highlands on the north; although there is a tract on the north of the line, from Stonehaven to the vicinity of Fort George, on the Murray Firth, which is, strictly speaking, lowland. A little to the south of the Grampian range, there is another more broken and less elevated chain of hills extending in the same direction, the Campsie hills on the west, the Ochills in the middle, and the Sidla hills on the east, forming a gradual transition from the plains of the south to the stupendous and towering masses of the Grampians. Between these two ranges of hills is the Strathmore,* the greatest valley in Scotland, extending from Stirling on the south-west, or more accurately perhaps, from about ten or twelve miles west of Perth to Stonehaven on the north-east, a tract of at least eighty miles in length, and from sixteen miles to one mile broad, with hardly a hill or eminence to obstruct the view. This valley, which is partly in three or four counties, includes the Stormont, Perth Proper, and part of the Gowrie divisions of Perthshire, which is described in the General Report of Scotland as the most valuable and one of the

* Great valley.

largest counties in Scotland, situated nearly in the heart of the kingdom. " The general features also are exhibited on a large scale. In " no other county is there so much " con- " tinuous land in cultivation. Its mountains, " including Ben Lawers, Ben More, Beinglo, " and Shehallien, are among the highest and " largest in Britain. Its rivers are large and " numerous, with their banks, in general, finely " wooded. Its lakes are many, full, and ex- " tensive; and some of them are adorned by " nature in the grandest style of picturesque " beauty, presenting scenery almost unrivalled " in the island. Each of its eight great divi- " sions was anciently a separate jurisdiction " under its own chief, and his vassals or clans, " viz. Menteith, in the south-west; Strathearn, " in the south; Perth Proper, in the centre; " Gowrie, in the east; Stormont, in the north- " east; Athol, on the north; Rannoch, on the " north-west, and Braidalbane, on the west. " The nobility connected with the country, " most of whom occasionally reside in it, are " the Dukes of Athol and Montrose, the Earls " of Murray, Kinnoul, Weymiss, Braidalbane, " Dunmore, and Mansfield, Viscount Melville, " and the Lords Grey, Rollo, Ruthven, Kinnaird, " and Keith. Among the lesser barons, the

“ most general names are, Drummond, M’Nab,
“ M’Gregor, Menzies, Oliphant, and Rattray,
“ which are almost peculiar to the county ;
“ and Campbell, Graham, Keir, Murray,
“ Robertson, Stewart, and Sterling. In the
“ Carse of Gowrie, the lower parts of Strath-
“ earn, and in the flat country around Perth,
“ abundant crops of wheat, barley, and beans
“ are raised ; in the higher Straths little except
“ beans, oats, and potatoes, although in many
“ of these Straths the turnip husbandry is car-
“ ried on with great success. Horses and
“ black cattle are reared in the country,
“ especially in the higher Straths, and vast
“ flocks of sheep. The best draught horses
“ are still brought from Clydesdale or Ayr-
“ shire.”

The town of Perth is situate in the division of Perth Proper on the banks of the Tay, at the highest flow of the tide, and at the south-western extremity of the Sidla branch of the lower range of the before-mentioned hills on the south of the Strathmore valley. The roads from Perth to the Grampian range stretch in different directions across the Strathmore, one in a north-westerly direction along the plain of Perth Proper to the entrance into the Grampians, at the hills of Newtyle and Birnam,

below Dunfield; and two in a northerly direction through the Gowrie and Stormont divisions to the entrance at Blairgowrie, about eleven miles north-east from the Dunkeld gate. A third, but rather circuitous road, which may however be preferred by many, stretching north-east, on the south of the Sidla hills, along the shore of the Firth of Tay, through the Carse of Gowrie, will conduct the traveller by Dundee and Cupar of Angus to the Blairgowrie pass. The Dunkeld gate is usually chosen by tourists, both for their ingress and egress, and that much frequented route has been often described. The entry by the Blairgowrie defile was preferred on the present occasion.

The direct road from Perth through the Gowrie and Stormont divisions to Blairgowrie, a stage of seventeen miles, stretches along the left bank of the Tay, in a line not altogether parallel to the Dunkeld road, on the opposite side of the river, which diverges through the plain of Perth Proper towards the west. About two miles from Perth the road passes through Old Scone, now an inconsiderable village, distinguished, however, by the fine modern mansion, garden, extensive plantations, and pleasure grounds of the Earl of Mansfield. But the remembrance of the past is the chief distinction of

Scone, and many will think the modern mansion a sorry substitute for the venerable remains of the ancient palace, the residence of so many sovereigns, now almost demolished. In the ancient abbey at this place, founded by Alexander the First, in 1114, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St. Michael, the Scottish kings were usually crowned; and here rested the fatal stone on which the monarch sat at the time of the coronation. Whether this stone was first dignified, as some relate, by king Kenneth, who sat upon it after the fatigue of a bloody and successful battle with the Danes, and was there crowned with a garland of victory; or whether it was brought from Ireland to Iona, as others say, and from thence to Scone, the stone was certainly regarded with superstitious veneration, on account of a traditionary prediction connected with it.

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

This notion, that the Scots would always reign wherever the stone should be found, rendered it an object of some consequence in the estimation of Edward the First of England, who probably imagined that their faith in this predic-

tion encouraged the people in their resistance to his authority, and gave confidence and energy to their exertions in maintaining the independence of their country. To break the spell he caused the stone to be removed to Westminster Abbey, where it still remains in the ancient timbers of the coronation chair. But who can resist fate? The Scottish line of kings succeeded to the throne of England, and this has been considered as a sufficient verification of the prophetic distich. The abbey and palace were plundered and burned by the mob at the time of the reformation, and the abbey lands were, in 1604, erected into a temporal lordship in favour of Sir David Murray, a cadet of the Tullibardine family, the first Viscount Stormont. The allurements of these expected gifts, no doubt, powerfully inflamed the piety of such of the nobility and higher gentry as favoured the progress of the reformation, and induced them to overlook or encourage the outrageous and indiscriminate zeal of the populace. According to a tradition in the parish, those who assisted at the coronation of the kings, brought each a parcel of earth from his own lands in his boots, by which ingenious device every man stood upon his own land while he saw the king crowned. The boots

were then emptied into one heap, which, by successive additions, became that hillock, near Scone, called the Boot-hill, or every man's land. But the name, Boot-hill, is perhaps a corruption of Moot-hill,—a conjecture which derives some countenance from the name given to the hill by the highlanders, who call it, *Tom-a-mhoid* (the hillock where justice is administered). On every Shrove Tuesday a match at ball formerly took place, between the married men and bachelors of the parish, to which every man was obliged to turn out or pay a fine. The custom is now abolished, probably owing to the serious affrays which it occasioned, nothing being reckoned unfair that contributed to win the game: but the proverb still remains—"All is fair at the ball of Scone."

From Scone the road passes through rich and well cultivated fields. Stobhall, an ancient seat of the family of Perth, now in ruins, is observed on the right; while, on the opposite side of the Tay, the plain of Perth Proper spreads in full view to the foot of the Grampian range on the west. Crossing the bridge of Isla, at the junction of that river with the Tay, some miles below its efflux from the Dunkeld pass, the road enters the Stormont division, a plain extending from that portion of the Gram-

pians, included between the Dunkeld and Blairgowrie passes, to the middle of the Strathmore, and passing through a corner of that deep grove of forest timber which surrounds the ancient seat of the Mercers of Aldie, situate at the point of confluence of the rivers, it stretches through modern plantations of fir, in an oblique line across the Stormont part of the Strathmore to the north-east point of the division at the Blairgowrie pass, where the river Ericht, issuing from that opening in the hills, joins the Isla in the valley near Cupar of Angus, midway between the Sidla and Grampian ranges.

The Gowrie division of Perthshire stretches north-east from Perth on both sides of the Sidla range. On the north side, the road to Cupar of Angus passes, in a direction almost due north, along the foot of the Sidla hills, skirting the base of Dunsinane-hill, to which the magic pen of Shakspeare has given more celebrity, than it could derive from the fabulous portion of Scottish history, with which it is particularly connected. Many travellers will prefer this approach to the north for the opportunity of visiting this classic mountain; the summit of which, 1070 feet above the level of the sea, is among the highest points, if not the highest

point, of the Sidla range. On the top are the vestiges of a vitrified fort which tradition ascribes to Macbeth, and an urn is said to have been lately found there, containing half calcined bones, which (for so it seems to have been decided) were the remains of some distinguished warrior who fell in the battle betwixt Macbeth and Siward, if not the bones of the tyrant himself or his wife. The principal seats on this road, which passes through rich cultivated fields and plantations of fir, are Murray's Hall, St. Martin's, and Dunsinane. Within two miles of Cupar Angus the road passes through the village of Burrel-town; which has, in four or five years, attained to a considerable size and extent, by the liberal encouragement of the proprietor Mr. Drummond Burrel, and the demand for the labour of tradesmen of various descriptions afforded by this fertile tract of country. This road is continued through the Strathmore, and about the north eastern extremity of the Sidla range joins the road from Perth to Aberdeen by the coast. This latter road passes on the south of the Sidla hills, along the banks of the Tay, through the Carse of Gowrie, celebrated for its fertility, plan of cultivation, and orchards. This carse extends about fifteen miles in length from Perth towards

Dundee, and is from two to four miles broad from the foot of the Sidla hills to the Tay. This rich tract, now cultivated like a garden, is said to have been at one time nearly covered with water, the river Tay being supposed to have formed a circuit round the carse on the north instead of the south of the plain, and to have entered its present channel at Invergowrie on the east. Staples for holding cables have been found at the foot of the hills, on the north of the flat land; and the soil of those elevated spaces called paches (islands) is different from that of the low ground, being a red till approaching the nature of loam, while the low grounds, like all land long under water is a blue clay of very rich quality. “ The Sidla hills
“ are very valuable from the excellent pasture
“ they afford; and they add greatly to the
“ beauty of the scenery, from the diversity they
“ occasion in the prospect, and from the many
“ places planted with wood around the several
“ gentlemen’s seats interspersed among them.
“ The carse is famed for being a good fruit
“ country, not merely in the gardens of the
“ numerous residing gentry, but on a larger
“ scale, in orchards planted for the purpose of
“ making a profit from this branch of rural

“economy.”* The agriculturist and rural economist will probably prefer this route, and, leaving the Aberdeen coast road at Dundee, will find a good road from that town, across the moor of Lundie and the Sidla hills to Cupar Angus, and the Blairgowrie pass.

Dundee is a royal Burgh in Forfar or Angus-shire, about twenty miles north-east from Perth, on the northern bank of the Tay, and about twelve miles above the mouth of that river at Drumly Sands. It is a spacious and well-built town, extending for about two miles, partly on a level along the bank of the river, and partly in the face of a hill, called Dundee Law, which rises to a considerable height on the north. The market place, situate near the river, about the middle of the town, lengthways, is a spacious square, 360 feet long by 100 broad, from which the streets diverge in every direction. Dundee, from its situation, has always been a place of considerable trade; and, several years ago, the cargoes entered at the custom-house at Dundee were calculated to amount annually to 80,000 tons. The river is about two miles and a half broad at the town, and is well sheltered by the hills

* General Report.

on each side. The harbour is safe and commodious, and has been of late greatly improved. Further improvements are still carrying on with great effect, so that the harbour will soon be amply sufficient for a trading port of the first consequence. The principal and staple manufacture is that of linen of various kinds. Osnaburghs and other coarse linens, sackcloth and cotton bagging, are made for exportation; during the course of the late long war, canvas or sail-cloth became the chief manufacture, and the sudden extinction of the demand for that article at the conclusion of the war proved a most distressing circumstance to a considerable portion of the population of this town. The ancient name was Alec, and by that name it is still usually distinguished in the neighbouring highlands. Whether the more recent name of Dundee is *Donum Dei*, said to have been given to it by the Earl of Huntingdon, who founded the church of St. Mary's in the town on occasion of a supposed miraculous escape in a storm, or Dun-Tay, as Buchanan and others have contended, is still disputed. It was erected into a royal burgh by King William; and after the destruction of the records of its ancient rights by Edward the First of England, these were renewed by King Robert

Bruce, and finally confirmed by charter from Charles the First. The town is governed by a provost, four baillies, a dean of guild, a treasurer, and fifteen councillors, who are annually self elected, with the exception of the small alteration made in the set by the late convention of burghs. The want of a sufficient controul, in the constitution of the burghs, over those who have the disposal of the revenues, has of late produced effects which render it an intolerable evil, and Dundee has experienced its full share of the mischief. The powers of the convention of burghs, and of the privy council, to alter the sets, have been questioned, and it seems that the legislature alone can apply a full and general remedy. On the top of the hill, there are vestiges of a fort which tradition ascribes to Edward the First of England; and the town was frequently plundered during the contest with that monarch, and the period of the civil wars in the times of Charles the First, and of Cromwell. Dundee is said to be better supplied with vegetables than any other town in Scotland, and 100 acres are here occupied as market garden ground, at a rent of from 10*l.* to 14*l.* per acre.

The road from Dundee to Cupar of Angus and Blairgowrie, ascending towards the north-

west, and passing the mansion-house of Lord Duncan, a name celebrated in the naval annals of Britain, stretches for seven or eight miles across the moor of Lundie to the Sidla hills. In this place, the progress of improved cultivation has of late years been uniform and rapid. The broom, furze, heath, and stagnant water, have been cleared from the plains, hollows, and hill sides ; and fertile crops of grain and rich pasture have succeeded. The very climate seems to be improved ; and instead of the chill and melancholy sensation produced by the prospect of a wide and barren waste, a feeling of warmth and cheerfulness arises from the appearance of industry and abundance, and little now remains of the moor except the name. On entering (22d of June) the hollow in the Sidla ridge, through which the road winds down into the plain on the north, a picturesque and magnificent landscape at once presented itself. On each hand rose a hill with green summits, emerging from pine woods, and broom and furze, which encircled their less elevated sides ; the yellow blossoms of the broom and furze, glowing with the full rays of the meridian sun, and finely contrasting with the dark green of the Scotch fir, and lighter shades of the larch and adjacent pastures : the long rich

grass, and growing corn, spread over the deeper sides of the dale, waved in the breeze, whose whistling sound, mingled with the noise of a rivulet issuing from a lake on the height, and winding along the bottom past some farm cottages, alone interrupted the silence. Piteur castle in ruins, at the foot of the hill, revived the memory of feudal power, pomp, and violence. The wide valley of Strathmore spread large below, with its rich and well cultivated fields, and substantial farm steadings; and plantations scattered with irregular profusion in hedge rows, clumps, and extensive woods over its variegated surface. Midway across appeared the long winding line of the smooth glittering Isla, with the spire and smoke of Cupar Angus rising from its banks. Farther on rose the Grampian range, with ridges of vast height and stupendous mountains appearing on every side, and as far back as the eye could discern; the dark rock and heath interspersed with glittering masses of snow, the remains of the preceding winter; Mount Blair, in Glenshee, easily distinguished by its superior size and vicinity, and Shehallien in Rannoch by its long conical top, mountain still towering above mountain, till their summits were lost in the clouds of the distant horizon.

Leaving the Sidla hills, the road stretches across the valley to Cupar of Angus, which is said to contain about 1600 inhabitants; although the population must have been considerably diminished, or its increase prevented, by the neighbouring village of Burrelton, which, even though it should exceed Cupar in size, can hardly rival it in importance, as it is out of the line of the road from Dundee to the Blairgowrie pass. The town has a considerable linen manufacture, and a large tannery. In a field adjoining the town there are still distinct and visible marks of a Roman camp, which forms nearly a square of twenty-four acres. The vestiges however are now fast wearing away; the proprietors of the field not having, it seems, sufficient antiquarian taste to allow these marks to interfere with the most convenient and profitable arrangement of the field. About the centre of the camp, Malcolm IV. founded an abbey of Cistercian monks in 1104, and endowed it with large revenues. No vestiges remain of this abbey, except a very small portion of the wall of the towers, and the lower parts of some of the pillars, which were lately discovered on digging in the present churchyard. These remains of pillars are built with the beautiful red stone, of which there is a

quarry near Cupar of Angus, and appear as strong and sufficient as if they had been recently erected.

The road is continued over a bridge, built across the Isla at Cupar for four miles and a half, first through highly cultivated fields, and then through thick modern fir woods, planted on a moorish tract formerly covered with heath and stagnant water, to the village of Blairgowrie, which is a burgh of barony formerly belonging to the Gowrie family. The extent is inconsiderable, the population being probably from two to three hundred; but it is of some importance, as a point of communication between the neighbouring districts within the Grampians and the low country. It is finely situate at the foot, and in the face of the first swell of the range, on the banks of the Ericht; which, issuing from the pass, proceeds along the sides of the village across the valley to the Isla. Here there is a spinning mill, and an inconsiderable linen manufacture. A justice court, recently established, is occasionally held in the village to settle disputes in the neighbouring districts, respecting small debts not exceeding 5*l.*; and this has been found of the greatest utility in promptly enforcing the payment of trifling just debts, without the neces-

sity of that expensive litigation which so often amounts to a total denial of justice. The summit of the hill behind the village commands a noble and extensive prospect of the valley of Strathmore, from Birnam hill on the south-west, to Glamis, the seat of the Earl of Strathmore, or even to Forfar, on the north-east.

It is rather a remarkable circumstance, that in the Carse of Gowrie and Moor of Lundie on the south of the Sidla hills, and in the course of the roads from Perth to Cupar of Angus and Blairgowrie in the Strathmore, on the north of the Sidla range, some thousands of acres have been cleared of wood, of modern plantation (20 or 30 years old), for the purpose of subjecting the soil to the plough. The situations were ill chosen for wood, the ground being much more profitably employed in tillage. This however is a rare instance in Scotland, the opposite process of enlarging the woods being much more generally adopted, and much yet remains to be done before the ancient forest covering is restored to those wide wastes, which, although in their present state of little comparative value, might, as stations for raising timber, be rendered a certain source of great private emolument and immense national utility.

The deep dell in which the Ericht flows for five miles previous to its efflux at Blairgowrie, is bounded on the south-west by the Stormont hills, extending towards the Tay at the Dunkeld pass ; and on the north-east by a series of hills diverging towards Glenisla, through which the principal branch of the Isla descends to the Strathmore. Immediately on the north of the village, and on the western banks of the river, rise a series of sandy hills intersected by deep hollows, called the Clowes, or cuts of Manse, over which the road was formerly carried, the steep ascents operating almost as a prohibition upon all heavy carriage. The road, now crossing the Ericht by a handsome bridge at the village, stretches along a narrow flat on the eastern bank for about two miles ; and then, again crossing the river by another elegant bridge at Craighall, it rises by a gradual ascent to the height of the western bank, on the north of the sandy hills. In the tract between the bridges, the sides of these hills are seen on the west of the river, forming a high embankment, partly covered with wood, and partly presenting a long steep declivity of sand and gravel, without a sufficient intermixture of earth to support vegetation of any description. Through a deep

hollow in this embankment, the stream (burn) of Lornty issuing from a lake at the foot of Bein-cally, a high mountain in the south-western ridge, not far from the Dunkeld pass, discharges itself into the Ericht, near the Keith rocks; a place worthy of attention for the curious appearance of the cuts and hollows made by the river in the craggy bed over which it flows, but more particularly for the obstruction there given to the progress of the salmon fish to the highest parts of the river. The whole water of the river runs between two rocks in a deep channel, so narrow that the sides are not above a yard and a half asunder. In this place, a wooden frame is fixed in such a manner that the salmon fish are effectually prevented from proceeding further up the river to deposit their spawn, except in very high floods, when a few of them, by a desperate leap, clear the obstruction. But these floods seldom happen till the legal time for catching salmon has expired, and at any rate the number that passes the Keith is so small, that the fishing could not be an object of any value to the superior proprietors. As these proprietors derive no advantage from the fishing, they never think of the preservation of the salmon in spawning time; and the consequence is, that the few fish which get up at the

period of the autumn floods are destroyed by the country people *ad libitum*. But if it be true, as those who have attended to the natural history of the salmon aver, and the circumstance is in itself highly probable, that where an obstruction of this nature occurs, much fewer salmon will frequent the river, it is doubtful whether the fishery of the proprietor immediately below the Keith is benefited by this contrivance ; and while the advantage of salmon fishing is totally lost to the proprietors on the banks of the upper part of the stream, it may be reasonably questioned, whether material injury is not done to the fisheries in the lower portion of the river. It is alleged that the fish crowd the pools immediately below the Keith for weeks together, waiting for a flood to enable them to pass ; and if such be the fact, it is possible that the fishery at the point may be more productive. But the breeding of salmon is in a great measure prevented, and the produce of the whole river diminished, so that the interests of the great body of the proprietors on the banks of the stream, and those of the public, are sacrificed. This is, perhaps, the only instance in Scotland of such an obstruction along the whole stream of a river, or water, without the relief even of what is called a Sa-

tuesday's slap, or opening from Saturday evening till Monday morning; and, considering the minute attention which the law of Scotland pays to the apportionment of the benefit of the salmon-fishing among the whole body of proprietors on the banks of a salmon river, and to the preservation of the breeding of salmon for the interests of the public, it may appear surprising that this obstruction should have been suffered to remain so long. But the right to uphold it is said to rest upon an old crown grant; and, if that is confirmed by an act of parliament, it puts an end to all question about the matter, unless, upon application made, the legislature should think proper to interfere.

On arriving on the height to the north of the Clowes, the traveller observes the mansion-house of Craighall, on a point of rock on the opposite bank. For about a furlong above the bridge, the river runs between lofty banks, gradually diverging as they rise, the sides partly under grass, and partly covered with stunted birch and ash, the natural wood of that region. Beyond this, for about half a mile, its course is in a deep excavation, through a mass of enormous rocks, from which it issues at the point upon which the house is situate. At the upper end of the mass a deep narrow opening admits

the stream, the rapid rock rising smooth and perpendicular on each side to a vast height, and the sides being only a few yards asunder ; as if the piece had been carefully cut out by some magic art to form this gigantic gateway. A little below the entrance, some soil has settled among the crevices of the rock ; and stunted trees, or rather bushes, shooting out horizontally from each side, intermingle their branches and leaves, and, under this thick covering, the invisible stream descends, its progress being marked only by the noise, until it re-appears under the sides of the bare craggy masses. During the upper half of its course, the river winds through the rock, forming a figure resembling the letter S ; and then, taking a sudden rectangular turn, it proceeds in a line slightly curved, till, at the lower end of the entire ledge, it dashes full on the hall rock which is protruded into the middle of the channel, and by a quick turn at that point escapes from the mass. Along the whole of this channel, the rocks rise for the most part exactly perpendicular, and always very nearly perpendicular, from 100 to 200 feet above the stream ; appearing in some places to be thrown up in perpendicular strata, in others in horizontal layers, not more than half a yard thick ; while here and there vast solid masses are seen,

one of them rising smooth and perpendicular, without cleft or fissure, to the height of about 200 feet, and extending about double that length along the course of the river. In one place, the rock at a great height shoots up from its higher side two long-pointed pieces in the figure of a fork, which rise like spires or parts of a broken wall, having at a little distance some resemblance to the ruin of an ancient tower. The space between these pillars or spires is about two yards wide, and seems to have been formerly a part of the river's channel, although more than 100 feet above the present bed. The river probably once expanded into a lake at the upper end of the mass, and having attained the necessary height, flowed over the surface, till, in the lapse of ages, by the secret agency of nature, invisible and minute in cause, but open and tremendous in effect, by the constant action of the stream, and the expansive force of congealed water deposited in the clefts, the strongly compacted crags were rent asunder, and the broken pieces being gradually rolled away by the torrent, a deep and rugged channel was at length formed through the centre of the rock.

The house itself presents nothing remarkable in its appearance, and the only ornament, that

however being one of a thousand, is its situation. It is built along the upper side of the crag, which juts out into the centre of the channel, and has been carried by repeated additions, made at different times, to the extreme point of the rock. A balcony at one of the windows is placed directly over the deep and awful gulf formed by the receding of the bank; and the spectator who looks from this, or any of the windows on that side of the house, instinctively feels

“How giddy 'tis to cast one's eyes below;”

and it is hardly less impressive to cast them forward. The course of the river is open to the view through half its extent, and the roaring torrent seen dashing furiously down its ingulfed and craggy bed, with the vast masses of rock shooting up from the bottom in fantastic shapes and wild disorder, and here and there sending out green shrubs from their sides, the dry rock appearing to supply the materials of vegetation.

Close to the house, the receding bank swells up into a high and conical hill, having its lowest side and highest point covered with pines of modern plantation, and the intermediate space with rich pasture. The wood growing from the sides of the channel is entirely or

chiefly natural. Imagination here raises a mansion corresponding to the place, the fortified habitation of ancient feudal barons ; the lofty castellated towers, the massy walls, the strong barriers, the remains of draw-bridges, one reaching across the channel, another across the gulf, to a cave in the opposite side, with dark winding passages cut down through the rock from the fort, and opening into the river ; the clan or vassals spread over the hills and fields around, with their eyes towards their fortress, their retreat in alarm and danger, their rendezvous for the feast or the warlike expedition ; the deep and spacious caverns in the sides of the channel, the security of the friends of the chief, the dismal abode of his enemies, where the plunder of a nation might be stored up, and a royal army might hide in ambuscade, in defiance of the most diligent search. But the reality is a plain house of two stories, resembling a substantial farm steading ; which, with the adjoining lands, formerly belonged to a branch of the Ogilby family, subsequently to a branch of the Rattrays, and now belongs to Barón Clarke, of the Scottish Exchequer.

From the bridge of Craighall a very good road stretches along the side of the Stormont

hills to the bridge of Cally, situate at the place where the streams of the Ardle and Blackwater or water of Shee join and form the Ericht. The banks of the Ericht, in this part of its course, are for the most part covered with natural wood, chiefly birch; while on the higher ground several clumps and belts of recently planted Scotch fir appear. From the road, a neat and romantic cottage, in the midst of a grove of natural birch, is seen on the opposite side. The road then passes close to the house of Rachalzie, once the seat of a branch, now extinct, of the Farquharson family, and now belonging to Farquharson of Invercauld, the chief of the clan. The whole of this tract on both sides seems to have been formerly a barren moor down to the brink of the river, near to which there are still some heath—covered knolls, or hillocks, which in the neighbourhood of Craighall have been newly planted with larches and other pines. But for a considerable space, from the channel of the river towards the ridges, the ground is now subjected to the plough, and produces valuable corn and green crops. From these cultivated declivities of Manse to the descent on the Stormont side, the hill on the south-west seems to be chiefly a

barren waste of that description which can be profitably occupied only by plantation, and in that respect much remains here to be done.

At Cally Bridge there is an indifferent inn, which may be considered as a kind of resting place between Blairgowrie and Kirkmichael in Strathardle, or the Spittal of Glenshee.

From the bridge of Isla, at the junction of the Isla and Tay, there is a direct road over the Stormont hills to the bridge of Cally sufficiently convenient for travellers on horseback, and not impassable for carriages; but as the road by Blairgowrie is much more commodious for carriages of all descriptions, and as the difference in length round the point of the hill is not very material, that road is the most frequented. The tract from Blairgowrie to Cally Bridge is, in the character of the scenery, decidedly highland; dark moors and hills overhanging the rich verdure that covers the immediate banks of the river winding along the bottom of the deep dell; but there the lowland language and dress have the ascendancy: to the north of the bridge the dells become more deep and narrow, the ridges and hills more precipitous and lofty. The ancient Celtic language is that which is most commonly spoken; and some remains of the ancient dress, and occasionally the full dress,

begins to appear. From this point the military road to Mar stretches north along the banks of the Blackwater and water of Shee to the Spittal of Glenshee, about 13 miles from Cally Bridge, and another road extends north-west along the banks of the Ardlie river to the head of Strathardle, and is continued over a narrow ridge of hill to Athol, where it joins the great highland road from Edinburgh to Inverness at the village of Pitlochrie, eight miles below the Blair of Athol, and twelve miles above Dunkeld.

The Glenshee road from Cally Bridge stretches due north, having the Strathardle range of hills on the west, and the hills and moors called the forest of Alyth, extending to Glenisla on the east. Passing first over a moorish stony plain, to the general improvement of which the expense of trenching, or some other cause, has hitherto proved a sufficient obstacle, (although one hollow space in it has been already so far improved as to yield valuable pasture and even grain crops,) the road enters a broader plain, extending through an opening in the western range of hills almost to the valley of Strathardle. A great part of this latter plain is still in the state of a barren moor; but a portion of it, especially that part which is contiguous to

the river, has been highly cultivated and improved.

From this plain the hilly ridges on each side draw closer, and the military road made to open a communication by the Blairgowrie pass through the east highland of Perthshire to the highlands of Aberdeen, Inverness, and other counties has been so ingeniously contrived that the perfect or nearly perfect level adjoining the brink of the river has been carefully avoided; and the road, passing to the Spittal along the narrow glen, in the face of the declivity, a great way above the stream, proceeds for several miles up and down hill, like the course over that ingenious source of amusement, the Russian mountains, with this difference, however, that the height of the Glenshee mountains is not diminished as the traveller advances. In the eastern range of hills appears the immense mass of Mount Blair, which rises from the river to a vast height, overlooking all the neighbouring mountains. On the summit of this mountain there is a great cairn of loose stones, indicating the grave of some person of distinction, probably a chief who fell in the battle, which, from the name of the mountain (Battle-hill), and of the field at its foot, Cray (turn again), seems to have been here fought.

At the Spittal, the glen divides into the two branches of Glen Taitnich diverging to the north-west, and Glen Beg continuing the northerly direction. Through this latter glen the military road stretches for five miles to the height of a hollow in the ridge of vast mountains which divide the county of Perth from those of Aberdeen and Inverness. From this place, which is the limit of Perthshire, on the north-east, the road descends through Breinar to the Castleton on the Dee. From the foot of the Cairnwall, a mountain which rises like an immense tower to mark this extreme point, the water flows to the Shee and Erich on the south, and to the Dee on the north. Glen Taitnich, (pleasant glen), after sending off the branch of Glenlochsie to the west, about a mile from the Spittal, stretches, for five or six miles, between enormous mountains, having their green sides surmounted by summits of masses of rocks, or broken stones, to the boundary range already mentioned. In a hollow, near the summit of the mountains where the glen terminates, at the north-east extremity of the forest of Athol, is *Loch-nan-Ean* (Bird-lake), distinguished for the very superior quality of its trout; and there is another lake, in a similar situation, in the portion of the ridge at the head

of Glenbeg. Both lakes are much resorted to for the amusement of rod-fishing, by the inhabitants of the valleys on the Aberdeenshire and Perthshire sides, as well as by strangers, particularly in the grouse-shooting season.

Among the mountains in this quarter, the Cairnwall, Glasmheoll, and Glastuluchan, are the most stupendous and lofty; and some observations and experiments, probably connected with the trigonometrical survey of Great Britain, made by a party on the top of one of these mountains, in the course of this summer (1818), occasioned no small speculation and astonishment among the country people.

The road from Cally Bridge through Strathardle, for about eight miles, to the village of Kirkmichael, is almost a perfect level, and in every respect superior to the military road through Glenshee. This strath lies between the Stormont hills on the south, the mountains of Athol on the north and west, and Glenshee on the east. It is thirteen miles long from the lower extremity to the point at which it divides into the two vales, Glenbrierchan and Glenfer-nate, and from five to ten miles broad, reckoning to the top of the surrounding hills; but that part of it, which is properly adapted for tillage, is about two miles broad, at an average.

Clumps of natural birch rise at no great distance from each other all along the brink of the river, although much of it has been lately grubbed up and the ground tilled, intermixed with rich fields, some of them in a state of high cultivation, and on some of the outfield hills the birch forces itself up in spite of the destructive bite and touch of sheep and cattle. In a few places several acres have been recently planted with the more valuable Scotch fir and larch; the year's growth of the Scotch fir, in this situation, being, at five years old, about a foot and a half, and that of the larch about three feet. The quantity of wood, however, is far below what would be requisite for ornament or even for shelter, and the general appearance of the district, above the immediate banks of the river, is therefore bleak and barren. The *haughs* or holm lands next the stream, consisting of a sandy loam, are rich and fertile; and the hill sides, and the hollow burn tracts, extending in one instance near the village, into the higher range of heights and mountains, having a mixture of clay and moss in the soil, produce, when properly managed, good crops of grass and even of grain. The natural pasture of the principal valley, and of the diverging glens of Derby and Fernate, are uncom-

monly luxuriant, and feed numerous flocks of sheep, and herds of black cattle, which, together with wool, and woollen and linen yarn, are the chief exports of the country. In the little village of Kirkmichael, before the late depopulation, a weekly market was regularly held and well attended, particularly by shoemakers from Athol, and venders of bog fir from Badenach; and an annual sheep and cattle fair is still held there at Michaelmas, a few days before the Michaelmas tryste at Falkirk. It was, not long ago, in contemplation to make a road from the Spittal of Glenshee by this village to Dunkeld, in order to connect, at that town, the road from Aberdeen and other north-eastern counties through Mar, with the road from Inverness through Badenach, and thus considerably shorten the distance to Perth and the south-eastern counties: but the project has been dropped for the present.

CHAP. II.

FROM KIRKMICHAEL,

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Kirkmichael—Highland inns—Ancient and present state of the district of Strathardle—Glenfermate—Glenbriarchan—Moulin—Athol—Logierait—Strathtay, description of it—Agricultural improvements, roads, &c.—Highland mansion-houses—Weem—Aberfeldie.

IN the village of Kirkmichael there are two inns, which are much frequented during the grouse-shooting season, and at either of them tolerably good accommodation may be had for travellers and their horses. The same observation applies to the inns on the whole of the route, and on most, if not all, of the great roads

in the highlands. The foundation, which the defects of highland accommodation afforded for much serious complaint and humorous remark, has now almost entirely vanished. Since the communication with the highlands has, by the formation of so many excellent roads, been completely opened, and since the fashionable taste for highland tours, and other causes, have rendered the roads so well frequented, the judgment of proprietors, and the very efficient motive of individual interest, have produced in almost all quarters places and means of accommodation, comfortable enough to satisfy those, who possess a power of reflection and a fund of good temper sufficient to enable them to bear, without repining or murmuring, the inconveniences of a journey; which are sometimes unavoidable, particularly on the most frequented highland routes, where the inns are liable to be often over-crowded at certain seasons of the year.

It is a curious and remarkable fact, that, in this district, a hill-stream about three or four miles above the bridge of Cally, constituted, till no very remote period,—as far back as the memory of the oldest men extended as to what they knew and had heard,—the boundary between the highland and lowland languages,

notions, manners, customs, and habits. The prospect was in a great measure changed when the traveller entered the Grampian defile, at Blairgowrie, and particularly after he passed the bridge of Cally; and, instead of the spacious fertile plain, covered with the abundance of its agricultural produce, his eye rested on the lofty mountain, the deep glen, the barren moor, the rapid river, the dark rock, impending over the roaring cataract, in every variety of wild but strong and impressive scenery. But, on passing the bridge of Cally to the north, or the stream already mentioned to the west, the people seemed to be in language, dress, and manners, entirely different from those behind in their immediate vicinity; and the traveller, from every thing he then saw and heard, appeared to be transported at once, as if by magic, into some remote foreign region. The distinction as to dress, notions, and habits, is in a great measure gone, as has happened in most parts of the highlands: but it still subsists in a high degree as to the language; that which is usually spoken to the east of the stream, being the lowland Scotch, and that usually spoken by the country people, on the west of it, being the Gaelic. This district was not, like most of the highland divisions, con-

sidered as the patrimonial territory of any particular clan. The population consisted of persons of almost all the various names known in the highlands; and, as the country is on the borders of the lowlands, and was at all times more accessible to the authority of the general government, than most other divisions of the highlands, the clanish system, in its full spirit of union and vigour for internal government, and external defence, was neither so much required nor so strongly felt. But the general connexion with the great body of the highland population was decidedly marked, not only in the language, but in the notions, habits, and manners of the inhabitants of this district, who in all these particulars exactly resembled the people of the neighbouring district of Athol. While the heritable jurisdictions subsisted, courts of justice were held in the western part of the valley, by the representatives of the Athol family, and in the eastern portion by the Spaldings of Ashintully, who, in the reign of King William, were mentioned, for a commission, by Lord Braidalbane, in his plan for attaching the highland chiefs to the general government. That family, now extinct, and the Athol family, could then have directed the power of the district.

This valley, like the rest of the highlands,

was formerly peopled to the utmost extent of its productive capability; and the mode of occupation, and plan of farming, were exactly similar to those which prevailed generally among these mountains. A space of arable ground, which, if properly cultivated, might have afforded employment for one plough, was divided among several occupants, who had their cottages or huts near each other, without any regard to arrangement; and this cluster of cottages, with the farm belonging to them, was called a *toun*. The walls of the cottages were built of such rough unhewn stones as could most readily be procured, without cement, or of alternate layers of stones and turf, to the height of about six feet, inclosing a space of about eight feet broad, and of about three times that length. The natural wood of the country easily supplied the little timber required for the huts, which were thatched with straw, fern, or heath, the thatch being secured with hay or straw ropes; called, in the language of the country, *siaman*. A hole was left in the roof above the part of the earthen floor intended for the fire place; and another square hole, near the fire place, of the size of two ordinary glass panes, in the wall, by way of window; which in bad weather was secured with a board, or, where that piece of lux-

ury was wanting, as was often the case, with old clothes, turf peat, or whatever material came in the way. The fire-place was sometimes in the middle of the floor, but commonly at one end of the cottage; and near the other end, in the side wall, was the opening for the door, in entering at which it was necessary for a man of ordinary size to bend almost double. The door was formed of rude planks, or of sticks wattled together. The furniture and accommodation within corresponded with the style of the architecture. Near the fire, which was placed on some flat stones in the floor, and along the side-wall, stood the principal seat, called *deish*, resembling a rude church pew; and some three-footed or four-footed stools of the rudest wooden materials were scattered about, one of a larger size than the rest being designed to serve the purpose of a table. The *aumrie*, or press for holding the milk dishes, and the *beisail*, a sort of rack for holding some wooden plates and horn spoons, were also usually arranged along the side-wall; and between the door and fire-place, across the floor, commonly stood a close bedstead, which served the purpose of defending the fire-side from the cold blast of the door, unless the occupant happened to be so luxurious and effeminate as to have a cross wall, rudely

lathed and plastered, in that situation. The rest of the beds were usually placed at the end of the cottage, opposite to the fire-end. An old highlander would have spread some heath on the floor for his bed, and have disdained any other covering than his tartan plaid; but the degeneracy of later times introduced chaff beds and coarse blankets.

The barns, stables, and byres, or cow-houses, were built in much the same way as the dwelling houses; and not unfrequently for convenience, and to avoid unnecessary trouble, an end of the dwelling-house served for a byre. These *touns* were scattered over the level ground, and lower parts of the hill sides, at such distances and in such situations as were most convenient, with reference to this plan of occupation. Each occupier had usually two dwarfish half-starved horses, and united with another for labouring the ground, four of these horses being thought necessary for a plough. One man held the plough, and another man or boy, walking backwards, led the horses. Some soil and heaps of stones were turned over by the plough, which was often raised out of the ground, while the horses were led aside, so as to avoid the banks, bushes, and large fixed stones, which appeared here and there over the

face of the field. The kind of barley called bere or bigg, and oats, were sown in rotation, until the ground was exhausted; and then it was left unploughed for some years, to gather heart as it was called. After seed-time, a great part of the summer was spent in providing fuel for winter use. The fuel consisted chiefly of mossy ground, cut and cast in small pieces, called peats, which were spread out to dry, then piled, and afterwards led home in creels or baskets on horseback, a work altogether of great labour and tediousness in rainy seasons. The spare cattle were, in some places, sent to shealings among the hills, to save the lower pastures; and in these shealings some women resided during a part of the summer, preparing the ewe-milk cheese, every occupant having some sheep on the higher grounds, which were pastured in common. Many of the men and women went to the low country, and were employed there in the harvest labour, which was usually finished before the highland harvest began. The corn in the mountain strath being ripe, or if not ripe, the season being too far advanced to admit of further ripening or delay, the corn was cut and carried to the corn-yard on horseback. The fields being cleared, the whole became a common, and the cattle were left to

range about in all quarters. The cattle which had been sent to the hills were brought down to the lower grounds; and lastly the sheep, which were housed in the night time, and even in the day time, in very stormy weather. Winter was the season for idleness and diversion. Matches at foot-ball were made, and sometimes produced serious affrays; every thing that could be effected by force, skill, agility, or swiftness, being reckoned fair. Throwing a heavy stone, with the right hand, wrestling, and other trials of strength were common. The different dwellings became by turns the place of evening rendezvous. The women were employed in spinning wool and flax: the men were usually entirely idle, except that one of them often held a little fir torch. The song and tale relieved the tedium of the long night, and the visits of itinerant talemen and bards were at that season highly prized.

Little more than thirty years have elapsed, since any material alteration in these particulars took place in this district. The manners and habits of the south began to gain ground among the proprietors. They resided less in the country; the intimacy and friendly intercourse between the landlord and tenant were interrupted; many of the old families failed, and the property

came into other hands ; the fear of visiting the highlands was gone ; the lowland grazier, and cattle dealer, discovered the value of the highland pastures ; and, with his command of capital, easily paid more rent than the natives without capital, and unaccustomed to rack-rents. The higher portions of the grounds, before subject to the plough, were let for pasturing cattle ; and lastly, a great part of the lower grounds, and most fertile tracts, were inclosed, and let for the same purpose. The depopulation, once begun, proceeded rapidly, until a great proportion of the district was cleared. A part of the country is still occupied as arable farms ; but the increased rents rendered it necessary to cultivate in a different manner, and few vestiges of the *toun* system remain. One man, and two horses, now suffice for the plough ; and the old system of completely exhausting the land by alternate crops of barley and oats, and then suffering it to continue for several years in the state of ley was exploded ; and the potatoe and turnip, fallow, and crops of clover and rye-grass, have succeeded. The use of lime as a manure, and composts of lime, dung, and peat moss, have been introduced, and the agriculture of the district has been decidedly improved. The corn and fuel are now brought home in carts, and the

business of preparing the ground, and the lime and other matters connected with the farm, afford employment during a great part of even the winter season. In favourable seasons, the appearance of such grain crops as are raised is equal, and sometimes superior, to the appearance of crops of the same grain in the Carse of Gowrie; but owing to the climate and height of the situation, the produce when manufactured is inferior in quantity and quality, as compared with the grain of the carse. In ordinary seasons, both the green and grain crops are still apt to be injured by early frosts, which prevent their ripening, and coming to perfection; although this disadvantage is much diminished by improved cultivation, which to other beneficial effects has added that of earlier harvests. A respectable carse farmer, who rents a part of this district for pasturing cattle and sheep, having sown a field on the bank of the river with oats, was surprised at the produce; and it was then discovered that the soil was superior to the soil in several parts of the Carse of Gowrie. A farm-steading, it is said, is now to be built on the land, which for many years has exhibited no building, except a shepherd's cottage, and ruins of old *touns*. The same discovery may perhaps be made in other highland

districts, and the plough may be restored to grounds to which it had long been a stranger.

The depopulating consequences of the change of system have been more gradual in this district than in many other parts of the highlands, upon some of which they came with the suddenness and violence of a hostile invasion with fire and sword. Even in this district, the hardship has been severely felt; and one who admires the improvements that have taken place in arable farming, feels the greater regret in looking at so many fine situations, from which the plough has been entirely banished. Sheep-feeding on the sides of the mountains, and cattle grazing in the inclosures of the low grounds, are the only objects that relieve the silent solitude of several parts of the district, which formerly resounded with the busy hum of swarms of human beings, who poured from their hives of clustered cottages, for the purposes of spring and harvest labour.

About three miles west from the village of Kirkmichael, Glenfernate diverges from the principal valley towards the north, extending to the vast mountain of Beingloe, near the Blair of Athol, and the other mountains in that quarter; which send their waters from one side to the river Garry, and from the other to the Ardlie,

the Ericht, and Isla. Among these hills, forming part of the forest of Athol, which extends north and east to the range of mountains that divide Perthshire from the counties of Inverness and Aberdeen, numerous herds of red deer still remain. Glenferenate is a fine pastoral valley, remarkable for its green hills, and excellent sheep pasture. From the foot of that Glen, the road stretches for about two miles, through the hollow of Straloch, in which the plough is still retained, and then the traveller enters Glenbriarchan the most westerly subdivision of the district. This glen produces rich pasture and valuable grain crops on the extensive haughs, spread along the banks of the river, which likewise issues from the hills about Beingloe, and joining the Fernate at the foot of Glenferenate becomes the Ardle. At the head of the glen, some excellent inclosures, and other improvements have been made, although it is still well peopled.

From the head of Glenbriarchan, the road stretches up the face of a steep black hill, and from the height descends for about three miles to the Athol side, having the green shealings of *Badivoe* on the left. On arriving at the height on the Athol side, the rich valley of Athol, from the junction of the Tummel and Garry on the

north, to the junction of the united streams with the Tay on the south, spreads below. The river, large and slow, winds along the middle of the vale, through thick woods, fertile fields, and luxuriant pasture, finely contrasting with the dark, rugged, and moorish ridges on each side. Further south, the summits of the lofty hills of Birnam, Newtyle, and Craig-barns, rise above the entrance into the Grampian pass at Dunkeld. Descending through the fertile hollow of Moulin, to the great highland road between Perth and Inverness, the traveller intending to proceed to the west highlands, by Strath-Tay, advances eastward for three or four miles along the Athol road, to the Tummel ferry, at the termination of the ridge which divides Strath-Tay from Athol; and having crossed the Tummel, and proceeded for a quarter of a mile round the point of the ridge, he finds himself in the village of Logierait, on the northern bank of the Tay. This village, as the name implies, was one of the places, where, while the heritable jurisdictions continued, the head of the Athol family held his courts of justice, and by the number and rank of his vassals and dependants assembled on such occasions, as well as by the administration of the law, displayed the power and feudal magnificence of the family. Nothing

could be better calculated to advance the power of the nobles and chiefs, and to render them independent of the general government, than these heritable jurisdictions. Besides the influence of general feudal and clanish notions, nothing was seen or felt in the district, but the authority of the lord, who appeared all-powerful, either to protect or punish; and he was considered as the sovereign who had a right to command the services of his vassals, even when he chose to arm against the general government. If the system was subversive of the power of the crown, it was but ill adapted to produce that sense of security among the people, which gives to industry its most powerful stimulus. The disputes of these petty princes with the crown, and their feuds among themselves, rendered the services of many of those who were most active in promoting disturbances in the district of singular value to the lord, against those who might be considered as his foreign enemies; and this circumstance, together with a variety of local interests and connexions, interfered with the strict and impartial administration of the law. The duty was generally performed in a careless manner, and in many places not attended to at all; "whare through," in the language of an act of par-

liament, passed for the purpose of applying some remedy to the inconvenience, "the people were amaisht gane wild." The walls of the large court-house still remain, and one end of it is about to be converted into a modern house.

The range of hills which divides Athol from Strath-Tay is, for about two miles from its termination, covered with planted wood, consisting of pine, oak, chesnut, beech, and ash trees, from the bottom to the summit, on the steep side of the Tummel, and down a portion of the easier slope on the Strath-Tay side; the lower part being occupied as pasture and corn lands. The highest part of the eastern point of the range terminates in an abrupt rock. Under this point, an open plain or terrace of considerable extent, called the Table Land, spreads out, and displays distinct vestiges of the fort, built there by King Robert the Second. Below the eastern projection of the Table Land, the sides of which are covered with wood, a triangular rich and well-cultivated field, or haugh, raised a little above the level of the rivers, stretches eastward for half a mile to the point of junction. At the base of this field, the road from the Tummel ferry winds round the bottom of the Table Land to the Tay ferry, at the village, where there is an inn with every necessary accommo-

dation for travellers, and their horses. To any one who has observed the rich appearance, and highly improved state, of the districts of Athol and Strath-Tay, from the entrance into the Grampians at the Dunkeld pass, to Blair in Athol and Taymouth; and the number and elegance of the gentlemen's seats in these valleys; it will seem not a little surprising that an improvement, so essential as bridges over the Tay and Tummel, should still remain wanting. But when it is considered at how late a period the spirit of improvement became generally prevalent in the highlands, the real ground of surprise will appear to be, that so much has been done in so short a time. The present representative of the noble family of Athol, eminently distinguished for his extensive and public spirited improvements, has long had in contemplation the erection of a bridge over the Tummel at this point; and as the representative of the noble family of Braidalbane, also distinguished for his improvements, has property in the neighbourhood, it may be concluded that these districts will not be long deprived of so obvious and essential an advantage. The inn and two or three other houses in the village are substantial buildings, with slated roofs; but the remaining habitations, not above half a dozen, are merely old

highland cottages, of stone walls, without cement, and straw-thatched roofs. A smith, a small grocer, and a carpenter or two ; besides the innkeeper, who is also the ferryman, are the principal inhabitants ; but considering the fertility of the surrounding country, and convenient central situation of this village, it can hardly be doubted but that the erection of bridges over the Tay and Tummel would soon render it a place of considerable size and important commercial activity.

The valley of Strath-Tay, reckoning from Logierait to the eastern point of Drummond hill at Taymouth, is about twelve or thirteen miles long, and about six miles broad, to the summits of the hills on each side. It is said to be part of Braidalbane, although it seems more naturally to form one of the districts of Athol, and is the finest and richest Strath in the highlands of Scotland. The mountain ranges, on each side, generally rise with a steep ascent from the depth of the valley ; and a considerable portion of its breadth consists of an extensive level plain of haugh or holm land of the richest quality. The clean appearance of the spacious fields, where neither unseemly bank, surface stones, nor noxious weed, offend the eye ; the long straight and deep furrows ; the regular,

equal, and well-formed ridges; the intermixture of the green of the turnip and potatoe tops, and clover, and rye-grass, with the yellow of the corn stubble; all evince a state of high cultivation, fertility, and abundance. The higher grounds, the sides of the hills, and spaces between the numerous knolls or hillocks, which rise in some parts of the valley, exhibit similar evidence of high cultivation, and stronger proof of improvement. The holms on the banks of the river, with any cultivation, will appear rich and productive. Superior industry, skill and attention, are necessary to ensure the fertility of the higher and hilly grounds. On such grounds in this strath, unsightly banks, surface stones, and rocky uncultivated pieces, still, in some places, disfigure the fields, and point out the difficulties which have been already overcome, while they show that something still remains to be done. The knolls, or hillocks, which could neither be removed nor subjected to the plough, have been inclosed and planted with the thriving and favourite oak. The valley rather widens at the upper end, called Appina Mheinarich (the Menzies's Appin), to distinguish it from the Stewart's Appin, in Argyleshire, and displays a larger proportion of the rich haughs or holm lands. The whole of the

valley on the hill sides, elevated grounds, and hillocks, at the foot of the hills, and on the plain, and by the sides of the river, is richly wooded with beech, ash, chesnut, and other timber trees, especially the oak, and also with the several varieties of the pine. The fields in the plain are elegantly divided by hedge rows. The largest of British rivers rolls slow and majestic through the middle of this beautiful valley, at times fully seen shining between its flat banks among the broad fields, and sometimes almost hid by the trees through the openings of which the evanescent motion of its waters occasionally appear. Craggy rocks, dark heath, green pasture, and thick woods, are intermingled on the higher portion of the ridges, from which the mountain torrents are sometimes seen, at other times heard, among the woods, dashing to the valley below—a valley uniting in itself all that is gay and delightful, in the richest roughness and fertility of the finest plain country, with every thing that is sublime and impressive in highland scenery.

It was impossible that these improvements could be effected, without a considerable diminution of the population, as compared with that of the ancient feudal or clanish period, when the object was to crowd, within a given space,

as many as it could, by any possibility and in any way, generally maintain. The necessary attention to war, and the uncertainty of enjoying the future fruits of labour, then left hardly any opportunity or motive for peaceful industry, beyond the purpose of the moment; and in the absence of means and inclination, notwithstanding the desire to crowd, one half of the powers of the soil were suffered to remain dormant. When the alteration of circumstances secured the fruits of industry, and the abundance of the produce of the ground became an object of consequence independently of the number of occupiers, the proprietors found it to be their interest to remove the superabundant population, and to throw the possessions of perhaps indigent or ignorant tenants into the hands of one enlightened farmer, in order to give to skill, capital, and industry, their proper inducement and effect. This plan of enlarging the size of farms has possibly been carried too far in this strath, as well as in many other parts of the highlands, by those who have endeavoured to introduce the most approved practice of the low country, without making the proper allowance for difference of situation. Where a considerable portion of hill pasture is attached to the arable farm, which in the highlands is an

obviously convenient mode of occupation, and the hill ground is inclosed, or divided, so as to render it capable of being turned to its utmost account—and inclosure, or division, or both, have now generally been either accomplished, or are in rapid progress—a quantity of arable ground sufficient to afford the proper winter provision for the live stock, fed on the summer pastures, seems quite enough, along with the hill grounds, to employ the time and attention and capital of an able tenant. This appears to be, in general, the proper and natural system for such situations, and the plan by which the productive power of the land can be brought to its utmost possible limit. At all events, the fertile valley of Strath-Tay will ever be an agricultural country, and can never be subjected to that sweeping depopulation, which has already taken place in a great proportion of the purely pastoral districts, and will probably soon take place in all.

One principal cause of the rapid and extensive improvements in this district, and other parts of the highlands, is the advantage long possessed by Scotland with respect to the division and inclosure of lands, without the necessity of resorting to the legislature. Every proprietor had it in his power, by a summary legal

process, to compel such a division and inclosure; while in England they were obliged, till very lately, to apply in every instance for an act of parliament. This, no doubt, was a serious and vexatious obstacle even in England. In the highlands of Scotland, the expense and difficulty would have been an insurmountable bar to the most valuable improvements.

Through this fine valley two excellent roads have been made, one on each side of the river. The road on the southern side is a continuation of the road from Perth to Dunkeld, direct to Kenmore and Loch Tay in Braidalbane. The northern road, stretching from Logierait to Weem, about the middle of the valley there, sends off a branch or cross road, which, passing over an elegant bridge across the Tay, at the village of Aberfeldie, joins the southern or Kenmore road. About two miles above Logierait on this road, Eastertyre appears on the right, in the face of the hill, with its orchard and well-cultivated fields divided by hedges and trees in the English fashion, a specimen of the style of cultivation exhibited over the greater part of the valley. The elegant modern mansion-house of Ballechin is seen a little to the west of Eastertyre. On the left, below the road, a modern farm-steading of the

most complete description is erected; and the spacious surrounding fields, in the extensive plain spreading from the road to the brink of the river, presenting every appearance of the most improved plan of cultivation, perfectly correspond to the steading. This is probably the most considerable arable farm in the highlands of Scotland, and Strath-Tay is perhaps the only valley among these mountains in which so much arable land of such excellent quality could be found so conveniently situate, and in all respects so well adapted, for being cultivated as a single farm. Either because an immoderate rent was demanded, or because it was difficult to find a tenant disposed to adventure upon a highland farm who could command the capital necessary for the proper cultivation of a farm of this description, so as to enable him to pay the adequate rent; this farm, it is said, was taken into the hands of the proprietor, with what success, in this particular instance, was not ascertained. It is well known, however, that this plan of cultivation is seldom successful, except under the unremitting superintendence of a proprietor who is himself perfectly conversant with the business of farming. Besides the numberless minute particulars generally overlooked by the proprietor, trifling in detail, but

considerable in the aggregate, in which the farmer contrives to perform the same operations with less expense of implements, labour, and time, and the variety of small matters which he turns to account, there may be a difference between the feelings with which one expends capital, labour, and skill upon the soil of another, and those with which he bestows them upon his own soil, which may probably have some influence upon the degree of judgment and attention with which the amount of the expenditure is adjusted to the value of the produce.

Further on, the elegant mansion-house of Pitnacree appears in the face of the hill, surrounded by a grove of tall fir-trees. The modern house of Derculich, amidst its oak copse and oak trees, of all ages, next attracts attention. It may be observed, with respect to the highlands in general, that nothing more strongly impresses the minds of those who travel along these roads than the variety of spacious and handsome mansion-houses, which are rendered the more remarkable by their being often unexpectedly seen in wild and bleak situations, to which the rude massy walls and towers of the old castellated fortress seem much better adapted. The vast heathy mountains and rug-

ged rocks which over-hang the green recesses where these houses stand, usually surrounded or sheltered on one side with a clump of trees, connects with such mansions an impression of grandeur and power which could never be excited by the appearance of similar mansions in a plain country. But in the fine valley of Strath-Tay the spacious and fertile plains, the lofty mountains, the abundant and elegantly disposed woods, consisting of coppice, and timber trees of various kinds, interspersed in clumps or belts among the rich green fields, along the wide declivity, or in the shape of a long, green cover, over-riding the summit of the highest ridge, combine to give the mansion-houses every effect that can possibly result from the union of rich, picturesque, and magnificent scenery.

The road is carried along close to the foot of the declivity, generally by a well drawn level from Logierait, for about eight or nine miles to the house of Killiehassie. From this small, but neat mansion-house it diverges into the plain, and after describing a semi-circle, including a park of pine and other trees of late plantation, returns to its former line, an arrangement which does not seem to have been adopted for the accommodation of the traveller. This place is

remarkable for considerable improvements in the face of the hill, of which the difficulty cannot easily be understood by one who had not seen the ground in its previous state. The declivity, for a considerable space down from the ridge, is in this quarter uncommonly rugged and barren, the ground being almost entirely covered with loose stones, like masses of rock with the surface broken into fragments. A great part of this space has been converted into fields of rich pasture, in which no stone is to be seen.

About a mile west from Killiehassie is the little village of Weem, situate close to an enormous mass of rock, containing a remarkable cave from which the place derives its name. The inn at Weem is the best in the neighbourhood, and affords every accommodation that can be reasonably desired by the traveller. Immediately to the west of this village is Castle Menzies, the seat of Sir Niel Menzies, the chief of the clan of that name. The style of the structure, which is that of the ancient castle, and its great height, give it an air of antiquity and grandeur, while the careful white harling produces, in some degree, the impression of a gay modern mansion. A spacious semi-circular park, containing a variety of stately timber trees, incloses the house in the front, and on

the east and west side. Immediately behind it, on the north, the craggy ledge rises to a great height, covered with wood and grass on the summit, and in the crevices where any soil can rest; while the bare perpendicular mass frowns over the tops of the trees which shoot up from its base. A little above the house may still be seen the remains of a hermitage, of which the native rock afforded two of the sides. This seat is situate at the lower or eastern extremity of the upper part of Strath-Tay, called the Menzies's Appin, through which the road is carried for about four miles to the small inn or public house of Cushville, at the entrance into Glenlyon. Here the road divides into two branches, the one stretching to the right over the hill to Rannoch and Tummel Bridge, the other leading up to Fortingal and Glenlyon house, from which a tolerably good country road stretches through a hollow in the hill on the left, and joins the road between Kenmore and Killin about four or five miles above Kenmore.

The village of Weem consists, with the exception of the inn, which is a substantial modern house, of the size of a good farm house, of only a few small but neat cottages, occupied by little shopkeepers and other tradesmen, who supply the commodities in general request

among the country people; and the vicinity of the castle and parish church probably determined its situation, which, however, is one of the most picturesque that could well have been chosen in this most picturesque valley. A little to the east of the village, a wide and excellent cross road stretches along the breadth of the valley from the northern road to a handsome bridge over the Tay, at the village of Aberfeldie, on the southern road. This latter village is of considerable size, and contains, it is said, a thriving muslin manufacture. It owes its rise and progress to the patronage and liberal encouragement of the Braidalbane family, to which the property belongs, who were generously and patriotically anxious to afford this resource to the people of the surrounding districts; who, in the progress of farming improvements, must necessarily be removed from their little farms. The Burn of Moness, celebrated for its waterfalls, crosses the village near the western end, and joins the river at the bridge. The inn or public house affords tolerable accommodation, and guides are there readily provided to attend travellers to the waterfalls. But the inn at Weem is preferable.

CHAP. III.

FROM WEEM,

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Aberfeldie—Appin—Approach to Taymouth—Ballach, the valley and palace described—Druidical circles, or Gothic courts of justice—Improvements—Connexion of remarkable scenery with national feeling—Macgregors—Kenmore—Braidalbane, extent and general description of the division—Loch Tay described; singular peculiarity of its salmon; agitations in it; island, and ruins of priory—Woods—Pruning—Farming and crowded population of Loch Tay side—Ancient language always used in common conversation by ancient race—Approach to Killin—Finlarig—Glenlochy.

THE houses or cottages of the village of Aberfeldie are built on each side of the road to Kenmore, which is about six miles west from the village. This road, along the southern side of the valley, is the direct continuation of the road from Perth, by Dunkeld, to Kenmore and

the western and north-western highlands; and, as the face and ridge of the northern hill are better cultivated and wooded than the side and summit of the hill on the south, the traveller who is desirous to see the valley generally to the best advantage will naturally prefer this road, which is besides the most direct and convenient for those who enter the Grampians from the Dunkeld pass. This southern road stretches through the grounds and extensive plain of Balnagard. Above the village or principal farm there are some remarkable waterfalls. A little to the west is the market-town or village of Inseh, a burgh of barony; and near it the walls of an old castle, said to have been built by King Gregory the Great, 900 years ago. From Inseh the road stretches through the estate of Grantully, for five miles, to the village of Aberfeldie, and at this point commences the Earl of Braidalbane's property in this quarter, which extends continuously to the sea-coast on the west.

About Aberfeldie, the southern side of the valley begins to assume a richer and more improved appearance in the declivity than the northern side. A greater number and variety of large and stately timber trees, with underwood of hazel, birch, ash, mountain-ash, and other young trees, line the sides of the road,

which is carried along the foot of the southern hill. The house of Bolfracks appears close to the road on the left, in the midst of a thick grove. Its figure, which is that of a cross resembling an old church or cathedral, combined with its romantic situation, gives it a solemn and picturesque effect. Further on, the wood becomes thicker and more continuous. The lofty and spreading trees on each side, especially the oak, the favourite of the valley, intermingle their branches above the traveller's head, and almost darken the road at mid-day : a delightful shade in the heat of summer. The road, without any very perceptible deviation from its level at any one point, gradually rises higher in the declivity. Through openings, which occur at intervals on both sides of the road, the whole face of the southern hills appears covered to the summit with wood, chiefly of the pine kind, with the exception of some open fields, the lungs of the forest, in which cattle and horses are seen feeding on the finest and richest grass among a few scattered trees. The broad plain of Appin spreads wide below, with its green and yellow divisions, and majestic winding river ; and the northern ridge rises high on the right, with its verdant declivity and craggy summit. The vast mass of Drummond hill, completely covered with wood, swells

aloft in the middle of the plain, marking the western limit of the wide valley, and overhanging the rapid flow of the Lyon, which, rushing impetuously from the north under the brow of the hill, there mingles its waters with the Tay. The broad side of Drummond Hill then forms the southern boundary of the narrower but still spacious vale of the Ballach. The well-levell'd, smooth, and rich plain on the bank of the river, broad and deep, though newly issued from its parent lake, the abundance and variety of the well-preserved woods on the hills and declivities, the regular and fertile openings in the forest, and other marks of the effect of art, indicate the vicinity of the mansion of some powerful chief; and the application of the utmost efforts of skill and labour to smooth and soften the asperity and wildness of the surrounding scenery, and to give it all the beauty and picturesque appearance of a rich and varied prospect, without detracting from the natural grandeur of this most noble situation. At the point of the road, opposite to the eastern end of Drummond hill, a little gate appears on the right, where a narrow private path leads into the grounds, with a board raised on a pole, threatening, in large letters, the rigours of the *law* against trespassers: *non sic olim*. From this gate the road, ascending a little to the left, conducts the

traveller through a thick wood of tall and spreading trees, of which the great size and variety are rendered more remarkable by the rugged appearance of the steep declivity in which they grow. A fine broad arch of elegant blue greyish stone, with turrets on each side, and a broad gateway below, soon appear, exhibiting a rich verdant lawn behind, and marking this as a principal approach to the expected castle. The noise of a mountain stream is heard as the traveller proceeds through the gloom of the thick forest, and anxiously looks for some opening on the right to exhibit the plain and opposite hills. By alighting and looking down below the line of the branches of the upper trees, one catches an occasional glimpse of a green field and lower part of some building; but curiosity is rather excited than gratified, and the disappointed traveller begins to experience no very favourable feeling towards those who at first seem to him to have had a perverse satisfaction in shutting up from public view a prospect which promised to be so well worthy of general admiration. The noise of the stream, swoln by recent rains, became more distinct and louder; the light is let in upon the road over the tops of the trees, descending in the sides of its deep-worn channel.

The desired opening appears. A pretty little bridge is thrown across the gulf, and there the scene bursts at once in full splendour on the astonished sight. A spacious, massy, and lofty structure, of the beautiful blue grey stone, already mentioned, surmounted by fine turrets, and full of large windows in front, rises from the plain,—uniting the idea of the power, strength, and grandeur associated with the ancient castle, and that of the convenience, comfort, and brilliancy of modern refinement. From each end of this noble mansion, a neat modern house is advanced, upon which, in that situation, the eye does not much love to rest. A considerable part of the rich verdant lawn, extending over the whole breadth and length of the valley, from the eastern point of Drummond Hill to the lake, is seen surrounding the castle, with single trees scattered along its surface. Drummond Hill, the opposite wall of this splendid inclosure, presents its long, steep, and high green broadside of growing wood, overhanging the dark flood that rolls along its base. The whole forms a perfect representation of the sublime and beautiful in scenery, while the effect is heightened by the unceasing deafening roar of the torrent, dashing furiously down the deep rocky bed, worn in

the steep declivity, to the black and wood-covered abyss below, with the sparkling rapidity of lightning and the awful peal of thunder. The bridge seems to shake and crash under the feet of the spectator, who doubts whether any sovereign prince in the world can boast a place of residence so superb as that of the Lord of the Ballach.

Leaving this scene, with many a lingering look from the side of the bridge, the traveller again plunges into the gloom of the wood, from which he at length emerges, in descending upon the village of Kenmore, at the east end of Loch Tay, stretching far to the west, between its walls of immense mountains, of which the summits were on this occasion entirely covered by thick flying clouds of grey mist. Whoever sees and can feel the beauty and grandeur of the scene, will not think the following description of it, by Burns, one of the happiest efforts of that celebrated poet?

- “ Th’ outstretching lake, embosomed ’mong the hills,
- “ The eye with wonder and amazement fills ;
- “ The Tay meand’ring sweet in infant pride ;
- “ The palace rising on its verdant side ;
- “ The lawns wood-fringed in nature’s native taste ;
- “ The hillocks dropp’d in nature’s careless haste ;
- “ The arches striding o’er the new-born stream ;
- “ The village glittering in the noon-tide beam, &c.”

Near the entrance into the Ballach, on the left of the road, may be seen one of those circles of stones set on end, about which so much controversy has prevailed; one party contending that they were Druidical places of worship, the other that they were of Gothic origin, and used as places for holding courts of justice, that ropes were fastened round these stones to keep off the crowd, and that from this practice arose the term of fencing the courts. It may be observed, without entering into the controversy, that it is not impossible but both parties may be in the right, and that these places may have, in different eras, or even in the same age, been used for the double purpose of worship and the administration of justice. They are rudely convenient for both objects; and that the ancient Scottish worship was performed at or upon a collection of stones, whether in circles or cairns, or in whatever manner disposed, receives strong confirmation from the single circumstance that *stones* is, in the language of the old highlanders, a common designation at this day for the church or place of worship. Near this circle of stones was observed a specimen of the difficulties which had been overcome in converting the open spaces in the declivity into rich pastures. In one of these open spaces the ground was but

partly cleared, and a small portion of it remained entirely in the state of nature. In that portion, the surface consisted solely of a heap or layer of stones and rocks, with hardly any appearance of soil or vegetation. An iron plough was observed fixed in that part, which had been in some degree cleared. The operation could never have been undertaken upon any calculation of the value of the returns from this particular spot, as compared with the expense. But, speaking generally of such undertakings, there is no economical operation by which the expenditure of capital is so certainly and permanently applied, for the benefit of a country, as in the amelioration of its soil, and the increase of its productive powers. The advantage is beyond the reach of those casualties, to which many other improvements are exposed; and this certainty and permanency may, in a national view, be more than ample compensation for the loss of greater immediate prospective profits, depending upon a less sure and durable foundation. Add to this, that the expenditure of proprietors in the improvement of land is often that, which would otherwise be wasted in the support of idle retainers, or in some other way, totally unconnected with the

best interests of themselves, their posterity, or the public.

The thick wood, disposed along the sides of the road, affords a grateful shade against the summer sun, and produces a gloom not unsuitable to the solemn magnificence of the situation. But in winter and wet seasons, this close and thick wood cannot fail to be injurious to the road, by the exclusion of the heat and air, necessary to dry it after heavy falls of rain. The more convenient arrangement unquestionably would be to thin the wood, so as to admit the wind and the sun's rays to the road, leaving sufficient for the purposes of shade. It may be considered a more formidable objection, in a situation of this description, that there is only one opening in the wood, through which the superb scenery of the Ballach can be viewed from the public road, and that even this opening does not include the whole within its range. It may have been thought that the prospect would by this means be more striking and impressive when it came; and this was a consideration which ought to have had its due weight. But many may think that the better arrangement would have been to have separately exhibited, through various openings, some of the

most remarkable features of the scene, and from one commanding point, if such could have been obtained, to have given a view of the entire vale of the Ballach. The eye would thus be delighted with a succession of different splendid pictures, of which the scene at the bridge ought unquestionably to have been one, even although it had not been opened by nature. The matter is connected with more important considerations than the gratification of mere idle curiosity, or the feelings and good pleasure of the proprietor. Scenery of extraordinary magnificence forms one of the great features of a country; and, like those local situations which are associated with the memory of events of national importance, possesses somewhat of a public character. In these, every one, as a part of the community, feels himself interested, and, as far as the bare facility of inspection is concerned, has an interest, of the enjoyment of which he cannot in justice, using the word in the largest sense, be deprived, although such places should be the property of a few individuals. It would be, besides, most impolitic, with reference both to the private proprietor and the public, to discourage that opinion of common interest in such situations, which binds, by so many agreeable ties, every individual to the soil of his

country, and to the rest of the community, and stifles the envy which the appearance of vast possessions and wealth, in the hands of an individual, is apt to generate. For the inspection of splendid and extensive scenery of this description around a mansion-house, the points of a public road are, of all others, the most convenient. The traveller gratifies his curiosity, while he pursues his journey, without further attention or trouble ; the temptation to general and improper trespass is diminished, and the pretence for it taken away. The privacy of the proprietor, and preservation of his grounds, are equally consulted, while the public taste and curiosity are indulged in the easiest and most commodious manner. The traveller, along the side of the Ballach, has, in one view, a peculiar claim to this indulgence, since the road, apparently for the purpose of increasing the range and picturesque effect of the pleasure grounds, is drawn so high in the face of the declivity, that there is an ascent on the east, and a considerable descent at the west end of the valley, when it might have been formed, at the foot of the hill, a perfect level.

With respect to the mansion itself, it would certainly have been in more correct taste, if the appendages, called wings, had been, in appear-

ance and size, more suitable to the main house or castle. The whole, as it is, has a tendency to suggest the idea of an eagle, with the wings of a snipe. The hermitage on the torrent, already mentioned, has been described as well worth the attention of tourists, but it was not visited on this occasion.

This place is said to have formerly belonged to the unfortunate tribe or clan of the Macgregors. This tribe, among the oldest, most numerous, and powerful of the highland clans, was at one time possessed of extensive and rich tracts of country : but they had the misfortune to be, of all the highland clans, the most pertinaciously and incorrigibly turbulent ; and hardly a feud took place around them in which some of them were not engaged, either as principals or auxiliaries. The crown had no other means of quelling such disturbances, than that of granting a commission to the chief of some powerful neighbouring clan for their suppression ; and the family of the Campbells of Lochawe, then always acting upon the policy of supporting the government on these occasions, rose upon the fall of the fortunes of the Macgregors. The policy was prudent in the individual, whether useful to the public or not, since the possessions of one or both of the contending parties were

the usual reward of the crown commissioner, and successful pacificator ; and this method of remuneration would have been the less objectionable, were it not that it unavoidably created the temptation, and actually produced the practice, of secretly fomenting divisions for the sake of the fruits of the suppression. The interference of government, under such circumstances, seems to have been almost purely mischievous ; the effect being only to raise one feud, in order to suppress another, and that in such a manner as to lay the ground-work for interminable future feuds. It ought to be recollected, however, that no family risked or suffered more than the noble families of the Campbells, in resisting the power of the crown, in subsequent ages, when directed to the utter subversion of the constitution and liberties of the country. But the result is that the descendants of the Knight of Lochawe, the present proprietors of this superb place of residence, ever increasing in fame, fortune, and power, now unite a large proportion of the whole of the highlands within their princely domains, while it was, till lately, a crime to bear the name of the ancient lords of this noble situation.

The village of Kénmore, consisting of a few

remarkably neat cottages, the parish church, manse, and an excellent inn, stands at the western extremity of the Ballach, on a neck of land jutting out into Loch Tay. This fine expanse of water is situate in the heart of the Braidalbane division of Perthshire, which has been defined to be that part of the country whose waters flow from south and north, to the loch and river of Tay, as to a common centre. This division is about fifty miles long from east to west, and about fourteen miles broad, at an average, thus comprehending an extent of 700 square miles. The district is almost wholly mountainous, but diversified with some beautiful sequestered valleys, of which the Ballach is the finest and most remarkable. It gives the title of Earl to that branch of the house of Campbell, whose chief place of residence, now called Taymouth, has been already described. The lake, a noble object in the scenery of this superb situation, is fifteen or sixteen miles long, in a bending course, from north east to south west, and from one to two miles broad. It is in several places 100 fathoms deep, abounds with perch, pike, eel, char, and trout; but above all, with excellent salmon, which are said to be clean at all seasons, a most remarkable property, if the allegation be well founded, and hardly re-

conciliable to the commonly received notions respecting the causes of the annual migrations of this valuable fish. It is also asserted, that salmon are at all times caught in the lake by Lord Braidalbane, who, it seems, has this singular privilege by his charter; a privilege which cannot be injurious, if the fish be really clean at all seasons, and which may be legal, if, as is probably the case, the legislative regulations do not extend to fresh-water lakes, but are confined to rivers and firths. The lake, although partially bounded by some of the highest mountains in Scotland, has a rich margin of natural wood and cultivated fields along its course on both sides; while vast plantations of trees, of every size and variety, extend from the brink of the lake, at both ends, to the summits of the adjacent hills. The waters of the lake have at times suffered violent and extraordinary agitations; the most remarkable of which, as far as has been observed, occurred in September, 1784. Of this phenomenon, a brief and distinct account was given at the time, by Mr. Fleming, the clergyman of the parish of Kenmore, in a letter which is published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. "On Sunday, the 12th of September, 1784, "about nine o'clock in the morning, an un-

“ usual agitation was observed in Loch Tay, near
“ the village of Kenmore. That village stands
“ at the east end of the lake, having the river,
“ which there issues from it, on the north side,
“ and a bay about 460 yards in length, and 200
“ in breadth, on the south. The greater part
“ of this bay is very shallow, being generally
“ no more than two or three feet deep; but
“ before it joins the body of the lake, it sud-
“ denly becomes very deep. At the extremity
“ of this bay, the water was observed to retire
“ about five yards within its ordinary boundary,
“ and in four or five minutes to flow out again.
“ In this manner, it ebbed and flowed succes-
“ sively, three or four times, during the space
“ of a quarter of an hour, when all at once the
“ water rushed from the east and west, in op-
“ posite currents, towards a line across the
“ bay; and about the edge of the deep rose in
“ the form of a great wave, to the height of
“ five feet above the ordinary level, leaving the
“ bottom of the bay dry, to the distance of be-
“ tween 90 and 100 yards from its natural
“ boundary. When the opposite currents met,
“ they made a clashing noise and foamed; and
“ the stronger impulse being from the east, the
“ wave after rising to its greatest height rolled
“ westward, but slowly diminishing as it went

“ for the space of five minutes, when it wholly
“ disappeared. As the wave subsided, the
“ water flowed back with some force, and ex-
“ ceeded its original boundary four or five
“ yards, and again returned, and continued to
“ ebb and flow in this manner for the space of
“ two hours; the ebbings succeeding each
“ other at the distance of about seven minutes,
“ and gradually lessening until the water settled
“ in its ordinary level. At the same time that
“ the undulation was observed in the bay on
“ the south side of the village, the river on
“ the north was seen to run back; the weeds
“ at the bottom, which before pointed with the
“ stream, received a contrary direction, and
“ the channel was left dry about twelve feet
“ from either edge. Under the bridge, which
“ is sixty or seventy yards from the lake, the
“ current failed, and the bed of the river ap-
“ peared, where there had been eighteen inches
“ of water. During the whole time that this
“ phenomenon was observed, the weather was
“ calm; it could barely be perceived that the
“ direction of the clouds was from the north-
“ east. The barometer, as far as I recollect,
“ stood the whole of that and the preceding
“ day, about twenty-nine inches and a half.
“ On the next and four succeeding days, an

“ ebbing and flowing was observed, nearly
“ about the same time, and for the same
“ length of time, but not at all in the same de-
“ gree as on the first day. A similar agitation
“ was remarked at intervals, some days in the
“ morning, other days in the afternoon, till the
“ 15th of October, since which time no such
“ thing has been observed. I have not heard,
“ although I have made particular inquiry,
“ that any motion of the earth was felt in this
“ neighbourhood, or that the agitation of the
“ water was observed any where but about the
“ village of Kenmore.” On the 18th of July,
1794, the lake experienced similar agitations,
but neither so violent, nor of such long conti-
nuance as those above described.

From Kenmore at the east end of the lake, to Killin at the west end, there are two roads, one on each side of the lake; the road on the north side, which is said to be the best, was chosen on this occasion. The river issues from the lake at the northern point of the east end, close under Drummond Hill; and about seventy yards east from that point, and a few paces from the village, a handsome bridge of five arches is thrown across the stream, which rolls eastward through the Ballach, overhung

by the thick wood, protruded from the precipitous side of the mountain. The traveller having passed the bridge, and advanced a few steps up the hill, turns westward above a beautiful and highly cultivated garden, situate between the lake and the road, and belonging to the establishment of Taymouth. Over against this garden, about a gun-shot from the bank of the river, is a little island thickly covered all over with large old spreading trees, except in the middle, where still remain the ruins of a priory, dependent on the religious establishment at Scone. This priory was founded in 1122, by Alexander the First, of Scotland, who here interred his Queen Sibylla, daughter of William the Norman. Alexander having vigorously suppressed domestic disorders, and settled the internal peace of his dominions, at that time the most difficult, but most imperious duty of the Scottish kings, afterwards evinced no less activity in founding and endowing religious establishments, of which several instances are mentioned by Buchanan, who however takes no notice of this priory. The place is one of those which naturally attracted the attention of the clergy, as proper for a religious establishment, situate in a noble and romantic lake, surrounded with grand and

picturesque scenery, sufficiently near the main land for convenient and easy communication at all seasons, but far enough removed to afford the retirement and privacy equally well adapted for devotional exercises, as for secret orgies of a less sacred nature, if such were ever intended or practised.

Drummond Hill still continues covered with wood of every kind and variety known in Scotland, especially the oak, until the traveller emerges, about four miles west from Kenmore, at the hollow or opening in the ridge, through which the cross road conducts to Glenlyon and Fortingal. Here terminates the long and extensive range of thick continuous wood, which forms the rich ornament of Taymouth Castle, and the noble valley of the Ballach. Along the whole of the road, passing through these woods, symptoms appear of the practice of pruning, although not managed with the attention and caution which its importance deserves. The careless plan prevails of cutting the branches at some distance from the trunk, leaving unseemly stumps to wither away of themselves, and usually to rot part of the timber. It seems to be agreed, among the most skilful and experienced in this practice, that the branch ought to be cut close to the body of the tree, and that some

composition of pitch, dung, and other ingredients ought to be applied to assist nature in curing the wound. As the object and design of pruning is, to send up through the trunk of the tree that portion of the sap, or nourishing substance ; which would otherwise go to the support of useless branches, and thus to form a longer and larger body of sound and solid timber, the mode of cutting close to the trunk appears from the circumstances themselves, best calculated to produce the intended effect ; care being taken to avoid injuring the body of the tree, and to apply some composition to the wound, to prevent gangrene from the attacks of insects or other causes. The practice of pruning is altogether condemned by some considerable authorities, especially with reference to the oak. But the general opinion is in its favour, and experience has confirmed the notion of its beneficial effects, when prudently and properly conducted. It seems clear, however, that it would be better not to prune at all than to over-prune. If the idea of physiologists be well founded, that the leaves perform an important function in the nourishment of the tree, although excessive pruning may improve the appearance, it must necessarily injure the quality of the timber. It has been suggested by some, well ac-

quainted with the management of woods, and the principles on which it depends, that one third at least of the whole length of the tree ought to remain unpruned. The pruning in the woods of Inverary, as far as one could judge from the specimens at the sides of a road passing through them for some miles, seemed verging towards excess. In the woods of the Ballach, the error in this particular appeared to be in the other extreme, and it is possible that the design in the cuttings observed on this occasion at the Ballach, was to prevent the branches from overspreading the road, rather than the common purpose of pruning. In the Inverary woods, the cutting is done with neatness and precision ; but neither there, nor at the woods of Taymouth, was there any appearance of the application of any composition to ensure and accelerate the perfect cure of the wound ; so that this practice, although certainly beneficial, does not seem to be considered essential or so decidedly useful, as to render it universal.

From this point, the ground rises from the brink of the lake, for the most part with a very steep ascent, to a considerable height, and then forms a broad inclined plane, or gently sloping terrace, over which the road is carried, gradually rising towards the highest ridge, which was

all enveloped in thick moving clouds of grey mist. The summit of the vast mountain of Lawers, situate on the north side of the lake, four or five miles west from Kenmore, and elevated 3787 feet above the level of the sea, was invisible. The sun's rays burst at times through the thick clouds, illuminating the lake with long streaks of light, finely contrasted with the deep darkness of the surrounding waters. The opposite bank rose equally steep, but with a slope ascending more rapidly to the upper ridge, also covered with mist, under which the ground appeared black, heathy, and barren ; while, on the northern side, the hill face, up to the edge of the mist, was clothed in green pasture, save where masses of naked rock were thrown out from the sides of the mountains. Almost the whole of the immediate banks of the lake, in many places so steep that it seemed amazing how the plough and harrows could be brought to operate, and the lower half of the broad sloping terrace, a breadth of about two miles, are in a state of arable cultivation. On the southern side, the plough has not ascended so far ; but there also the steep banks adjoining the lake are laboured for grain crops. At this time, 22d of September, the grain crop, consisting entirely of barley or bigg, and oats, partly cut down, and partly

standing, was well ripened, heavy, and abundant, for this high situation, which might be naturally supposed to be much better adapted for pasture and the raising of cattle and sheep, than for arable farming. The whole appearance of the district instantly suggests the idea of a system contrived for the purpose of combining, as far as possible, good husbandry, with the retention of the population. The town plan, or union of a number of contiguous dwelling hovels, in the form of a village, is completely exploded ; not a single instance having been observed in an extent of fifteen or sixteen miles. This is the more remarkable, since even at this day there is perhaps no district of equal extent in the highlands, where the alteration in the mode of occupation is so complete, except in those places where aration is entirely banished, and the population extirpated. The whole country is divided into a great number of separate little farms, each having its own habitation, and office houses, distinct from all the rest. From the multitude of these farms, the population must be very considerable, probably to the full as crowded as when the town system prevailed, while the ground is immeasurably better cultivated. The season had proved uncommonly favourable to the highlands, and the fields exhi-

bited a gay and rich aspect; the fine green of the turnip and clover crops intermingled with the yellow, long, thick straw, bending under the weight of the ears; horses and cattle grazing in the upland pastures; the several families busily employed in reaping; the men dressed in blue trowsers, and generally bonnets; a few of them having hats. Some of the men, however, and almost all the boys, wore the tartan kilt; but the old dress is gradually giving way to the blue trowsers as one approaches the western sea-coast, where it is almost entirely superseded except in the article of the bonnet, which is still common even there, although the hat also is frequently seen. The dress of the highland females is now generally similar to that, which prevails among the same class in the south of Scotland.

In all, or in almost all parts of the highlands, except in those where the old population has been rooted out, and its place supplied by one or two families from the lowlands, the ancient Gaelic still remains the language of ordinary conversation; although the lowland Scotch, or the English acquired at school, is almost universally spoken, with the Gaelic accent, and a peculiar pronunciation, for the purpose of communicating with the people of the south. This

is the case even in those districts adjoining the lowlands, in which the communication with those speaking a different language is most frequent. The youth of these districts, and from every part of the highlands, generally engage themselves as servants to the lowland farmers; and many after a long series of years return to their straths, with sufficient capital to take a small farm where such can still be had. These, although so long in the habit of using another language, on their return to their own districts, return also to their original tongue. Wherever all the parties are supposed to know the Gaelic, that is almost invariably the language of conversation among the remaining highlanders;—a remarkable instance of the tenacity, with which a native language maintains its ground with the native race, and of the entirety of subjugation which took place in those cases, in which races of victorious invaders were able, in no long time, to extirpate the native language of the conquered people. The circumstance, however, in the case of the Scottish highlanders, as well as in that of the Welsh and others, is partly accounted for by the state of separation in which the highlanders have always lived—the lowland farmers having been seldom introduced, except where the population of a whole, or a

considerable portion, of a district has been swept away. When a family speaking two languages is in daily communication with one or more families speaking only one language, that language which cannot be commonly used beyond the precincts of a single dwelling-house may naturally soon become extinct. But the Gaelic continued the language of common conversation for ages on one side of a village, while nothing but the lowland Scotch was spoken on the other; for, although the highland part of the people necessarily employed the lowland Scotch in communications with their neighbours in front, the Gaelic was still used in conversation with their neighbours behind; and, being the native language, was preferred to the other. Wherever the language has lost ground in the highlands, it has been only by the expulsion of the ancient race, and it will probably remain steadily the language of ordinary conversation among that race; until they shall have ceased to exist in the country as a separate people.

Notwithstanding the decided superiority of the present as compared with the old plan of arable cultivation in this quarter, chiefly owing to the introduction of the valuable rotation of the turnip fallow, unseemly banks still disfigure

the fields, which in several places have a bleak, naked, and cold aspect, from want of inclosures. Some instances appeared of that careless inattention to the preservation of the crop, which is the usual concomitant and symptom of imperfect cultivation, the young calves being permitted to wander at will among the corn, through which, at times, they were chased by boys, who did more injury than they prevented. The farm-houses and cottages, although necessarily small, are, however, much preferable to the ancient hovels; and are set so thickly, that the district has in some degree the appearance of a great number of extensive gardens, with each its gardener's habitation. Throughout the whole of this tract, there was none of that singing which, on the west highland sea-coast, is sometimes heard among the reapers, and which, although to a romantic imagination it might in certain situations seem like the songs of the Syrens, in reality resembles much more nearly the screaming of a flock of sea fowl. Loch Tay side can hardly be supposed to suffer much from the want of a practice, which, though no doubt intended to cheer and animate the labourer, is much more likely to distract the attention, and seems almost incompatible with laborious exertion.

If, by this system of farming, the district is made to produce a greater quantity of human food than it would yield if converted into sheep walks, the greater portion is spent in the maintenance of the crowded population required to carry it on, and in this manner the profits of the landlord are in a great measure exhausted. Considering the natural adaptation of these grounds for sheep and cattle farms, and the high value in the market of the produce of pasture lands, it seems unquestionable that the noble proprietor makes a great sacrifice to the retention of the population ; and that he is not one who, like the ancient Suevi, estimates his consequence by the extent of the deserts with which he is surrounded. No invidious comparison is here intended. It is in the natural course of human affairs that that mode of occupation should take place, which is most profitable to the proprietors ; and few will suffer themselves to be persuaded that they are blameable for dealing with their own property in any legal manner, that may be most conducive to the real or supposed advantage of themselves or their families. But it is impossible, at the same time, not to respect that generous, humane, and self-denying feeling, which leads some landlords to sacrifice part of their own interest, to prevent

the expatriation of the posterity of those, by whose means their estates and fortunes were acquired and defended.

About half way or more from Kenmore to Killin, another of the circles of stones already mentioned was seen on the left side of the road; and there are several ruins of circular forts, from thirty to forty feet in diameter, and five feet high, along the whole of this tract. These rude forts were, doubtless, intended as places of retreat and temporary security, upon occasions of sudden alarm and hostile incursion, in those times when each clan was, in a great measure, an independent community, and when the law was—

“ The ancient, simple plan,
“ That they shall take who have the power,
“ And they shall keep who can.”

Within a few miles of Killin the shape of the ground is altered; the space between the road and the lake sinking into a deep level, and that above the road rising with a more steep ascent to the upper ridge. A ledge of rock appears on the left, jutting out into the lake and raised only a few feet from its surface, the naked sides exposed in some places, and the top covered with soil and a thriving plantation of young

firs. On the west is seen the mountain of Finlarig, covered with thick wood to the summit, rearing its immense bulk above the western extremity of the lake and the village of Killin. Trees of a large size begin to rise on each side of the road, which soon enters a thick forest, the surrounding objects being however occasionally visible from particular points. The noise of a rushing stream is heard, and in a few minutes the bridge of Lochy appears with the long straggling village of Killin, on the other side, under the brow of the highest mountain. Glenlochy, which at this place opens into the plain, and is described as a pastoral glen in Braidalbane, pretty thickly peopled, stretches from the northern point of the west end of Loch Tay, for about twelve or fourteen miles, to the north-west and west. The lowest extremity of the glen next the lake is entirely covered with wood, from the top of the highest hill on the north, to the summit of Finlarig on the south. In the depth of the forest above is heard the roar of the river as it dashes down its narrow rocky channel, totally concealed from view by the overhanging wood from which the flood emerges at the bridge, and then winds slow, smooth, and silent along the whole breadth of the spacious and rich plain below, till it joins

the waters of the Dochart, with which it enters the lake at the southern point of its western extremity. This is another seat of the earl of Braidalbane, the ancient residence of the knights of Glenurchay;—a noble situation, inferior only to the Ballach, which in many particulars of its scenery it strongly resembles. The vast mountain, covered all over with wood of similar size and variety, the immense rocks, raging torrents, the rich green plain and meandering river, and spreading lake also, occur here; the objects being nearly the same, their extent and disposition different. A bloody battle or skirmish is said to have taken place in this neighbourhood. A party of Macdonalds, probably from Glenco, at variance with the Campbells of this quarter, made one of the usual inroads into the country for the purposes of plunder; and a party of the Campbells, assembled at an entertainment in the great hall of Finlarig, having heard that the Macdonalds were on their return with an immense booty, immediately rose and pursued the plunderers over the adjoining hill of Strone Chlachan. The Campbells were at first defeated, but a reinforcement having been sent by the chief of Ballach, who had been informed of the incursion, the pursuit and skirmish were renewed,

and the Macdonalds being defeated, the booty was recovered. This is but one of the most common incidents in the ancient feuds of the clans. The whole of this district is highly interesting, not only on account of the noble specimen of highland scenery which it exhibits ; but also from the view which it presents of the ancient race, and the former state of highland population ; the people being here in a great measure retained, although under circumstances considerably improved, while the greater portion of these formerly populous valleys are now uninhabited wastes, with hardly a trace of their ancient thickly-peopled condition.

CHAP. IV.

FROM KILLIN,

Miles.

LIAGARSTON INN 5

CRINLARICH 10

TYANDRUM 5

Killin—Dochart, river, rocks—Macnab's burial ground—Glen Dochart — Loch Dochart — Benmore, mountain — Island and fortress in Loch Dochart — Macgregors — Floating islet—Strathfillan—Etterick river—Crinlarich—St. Fillan — Sacred pool—Superstitions—Tyandrum—Lead mine—General ridge of Scotland, and descent of the waters into the Atlantic and German Oceans—Tay river, its sources almost on the shores of the Atlantic—General description of its course to the German Ocean—Gradual increase in general bulk of the mountains, from the lower to the higher extremity of Tay valley—Smuggled whiskey, a staple commodity of the highlands; manufactured to a great extent; method of avoiding seizure; mode of conveyance; persons who engage in the smuggling trade—Effect of the lately adopted plan of licensing small stills.

THE village of Killin, if it be understood as comprising all those houses and cottages, some

covered with slate, others thatched with straw or fern, which, with long wide intervals between them, extend along the whole breadth of the west-end of the lake, from the Lochy on the north, to the Dochart on the south, is about a mile in length. But if all these buildings were contiguous, the extent of the village would not be very considerable, although it is much larger than Kenmore. The inhabitants are chiefly mechanics and little shopkeepers, to supply the work and articles of consumption commonly required in the vicinity. The inn, which stands about midway between the rivers, like that of Kenmore, is good, and affords proper accommodation for travellers with their horses and carriages.

Proceeding from the bridge of Lochy the traveller has the rich green plain, divided by the winding course of the river and the wide expanse of the lake, on the left; and, on the right, the towering mass of Finlarig, with all its woods, till, on approaching near the southern point, the valley of Glen Dochart opens to the view, with its large and rapid river. A ledge of rock rises from the middle of the stream, a little higher than the surface of the water, and forms an island for the most part covered with wood, dividing the flood into two branches, over each of which there is a bridge, one from

the main-land to the island, and another from the island to the opposite side. The river rolls with a rapid descent over the naked rock, shooting up in numerous distinct masses all along the course of the stream, which, infuriated by the obstruction, dashes down under the bridges with tremendous violence, and a noise which is apt to terrify horses unaccustomed to objects of this description. The animals have stopped, trembled, and reared, and appeared ready to spring over the low walls or parapets at the sides : an addition to the height of these walls would therefore undoubtedly be a considerable improvement in the structure of these bridges. At the entrance upon the second or southern bridge, a piece of wall, about six feet high, is raised on the left, in which there is a small gate with iron bars, through which is seen a path leading to an enclosure with a mount or hillock in the middle, thickly covered with pine trees, situate at the lower end of the island, near the point where the united streams of the Dochart and Lochy fall into the lake. This place, which might readily be mistaken for a druidical grove, is the burial-place of the chiefs of the family or clan of Macnab. It is customary with the great highland families to have upon their estates exclusive burial-places for themselves and their relations, distinct from

the church-yards or common burial grounds of the parishes; and few situations could be chosen, better adapted for the purpose than this retired corner; the gloom of the adjoining forest of pines spread wide over the face of the southern hill, opposite to the woods of Fialarig and other mountains on the north, aiding the impression of natural solitude, seclusion, and rest. From this spot the name given to the village or grounds where it stands seems to be derived, Kill-in, meaning the burial-place in the island: but the district tradition says, that the celebrated personage—

“ — hicht Fin M'Coul

“ Wha dang the deel and gart him yowl,”

was interred in the island, or somewhere in this quarter; and that by the term Kill-in is to be understood the burial-place of Fin; and the name Fin-larig, and other circumstances, may be supposed to give some countenance to that notion. After passing the second bridge, the traveller finds himself on the road made along the southern side of Loch Tay, which is continued westward on the southern side of Glen Dochart.

The northern portion, rather more than half,

of the wide valley covered by the waters of Loch Tay, being terminated by the mountains and hills which rise between the Dochart and Lochy; the southern part is continued westward, forming the glen of Dochart, which extends from Loch Tay to Loch Dochart, about twelve miles in length. This, notwithstanding the height of the situation, is still a fine valley, with a considerable portion of plain, or haugh lands along the banks of the river. These lands are partly cultivated by the plough, and produce tolerable crops, which are generally early enough ripened. At this time (23d September) the greater part, if not the whole, of the corn was cut down; and would probably have been then stacked or housed, had not the weather during this month proved remarkably unfavourable to harvest operations. But most of the glen seems to be usually kept under green pasture, for which it is much better adapted, the grass on the meadows being exceedingly fine, rich, and abundant; and, in general, the short thick grass of the well-sheltered valleys, in these high situations, is of a much finer quality than the herbage in the low country, which is probably the cause of the superior quality of the highland beef and mutton. A difference in this respect, even between

the upper and lower ends of the same strath or valley, is sometimes indicated by the richer quality of the milk in the higher extremity. This superiority, in the quality at least, of the herbage, is another proof, in addition to the notorious inferiority in quality and substance of the grain crops as compared with those of the lowland plains, of the peculiar adaptation of these high grounds for the rearing of live stock ; so as to supply the demand for that article with as little encroachment as possible, for that purpose, upon those lands which are better fitted for tillage, and of the natural propriety of that arrangement, in a country where no considerations of greater weight oppose the adoption of that system, which upon the whole, is the most efficiently available for the production of human food. The valley is bounded on both sides by very high and precipitous mountains, the upper portions bleak, rugged, and in several places entirely destitute of vegetation ; the lower parts presenting an extensive surface of verdure, with occasional fringes of natural wood, chiefly birch. About midway between Loch Tay and Loch Dochart, the plain becomes broader, and in a recess, formed by the retrograde bend in the northern range, is seen the spacious mansion-house of Achlean, appearing,

from the road on the south, to be in form and height an ancient castle, but from the size of the windows and whiteness of the harling, an elegant modern house. A plantation of pines rises in the face of the lofty hills behind; the wide field, indicated by the name, spreads before with its bright green uniform covering of rich, short, natural grass, and the large clear flood of the Dochart in the middle. Immediately above Achlean the valley again contracts to its former breadth, still however presenting a considerable level border of herbage on each side of the river. The upper part, along with the adjacent mountains, seems to be formed into extensive sheep-farms; and, on the left of the road, are erected two very substantial farm-houses, well sheltered by groves of tall pines. Near the plain of Achlean, five or six miles above Killin, the Dochart road is joined by the road from Lochearn head. Although some grain crops are raised in the lower division, the glen is but thinly peopled; and, notwithstanding its natural beauty and adaptation for pasture, the feeling of desolation is very strong in traversing its solitary length, after passing the busy swarms on Loch Tay side.

At the head of the glen the river spreads out, as if overflowing its banks in consequence of a

temporary inundation. This is the narrow lake of Dochart, winding for about two miles in length among the rocks and hillocks which, now fill up the rest of the valley. The immense mountain of Benmore, the summit of which had been occasionally observed from afar, towering above the loftiest of the neighbouring hills, while at other times it was involved in a thick covering of gray mist, rises from the southern side of the lake, overhanging the road which winds along its wide base. Vast fragments of rock, detached from this mountain, lay scattered above and below, from a considerable height to the brink of the water, many of the intervening spaces being occupied with patches of natural birch wood. On the other side appear several hillocks, probably formed by similar masses fallen from the opposite mountains, and covered, together with the hollows between them, with wood of the same description; so that nearly the whole of the intervening space, between the mountains and ridges on each side of the valley, is filled up with these mounts, masses, and woods, and the long serpentine tract of the lake, exhibiting a lively representation of the romantic scenery of the Trossachs of Loch Ketterin. These natural woods are dwarfish and crooked; and, however important an object in adding to

the picturesque beauty of the glen, would be of very little value in other respects, were it not for the shelter which they afford to the live stock, during the fierce storms, with which these wild upland regions are so frequently visited.

Upon an island in Loch Dochart appear the ruins of an ancient castle, rising out of a thick grove, formerly a seat of the knights of Loch Awe; who anxiously availed themselves of the natural security of such situations, in times when it was necessary that every chief's dwelling-house should be a fortress. A party of the clan Macgregor, ever at variance with some of their neighbours, and particularly with the family of Loch Awe, their inveterate and most powerful enemies, who had deprived them of so many of their ancient possessions, contrived to storm and take the castle in the middle of a frosty winter. The Macgregors, availing themselves of the advantage presented by the frozen state of the lake, made a breast-work of straw, boughs of trees, and bush-wood, and pushing it before them on the ice, approached the place without damage from the missiles thrown from the castle, scaled the walls, and overpowered the garrison. In Loch Dochart there is also one of those floating islets, not uncommon in the highland lakes, which move about with the

wind. They are probably formed by the gradual intertexture and coherence of the water plants, the inferior strata being converted into a kind of soil for the herbage above and at the sides, until the whole is amalgamated into a mass of considerable size, and of sufficient solidity to bear the weight of cattle, which, while feeding upon these islets, have, upon a change of wind, been unexpectedly transported by this conveyance to the opposite bank.

At the head of the lake, where it receives the river Etterick, the glen of Dochart terminates; and beyond it the lower grounds become more narrow, elevated, bleak, and uneven, the vale and hill-sides presenting only rocks, mosses, and heath, intermixed with some coarse green herbage, impressing still more deeply the feeling of barrenness and desolation. This is the condition of the pass for about three miles, at the end of which the hills again recede, and the eye is relieved by the appearance of the fine pastoral valley of Strathfillan, having its rich green meadows washed by the limpid stream of the Etterick, the diminishing volume of the waters indicating the nearer approach to their mountain sources. About a mile further on, is the little village of Crinlarich, where a road turns off, over the hills, on the left, through

Glenfalloch to Dumbarton. Here, at a kind of whisky-house, travellers will find corn for their horses, if they should think proper to halt for a few minutes to feed them. The time during which the horses were feeding, on this occasion, was agreeably spent in observing, in the fields and meadows, parties of reapers and hay-makers availing themselves of an interval of sun-shine in this rainy season; and, in looking back to the mountain of Benmore, whose lofty peak, and vast broadside of perpendicular rocks, deep gullies worn by the torrents, and long streaks of red dust, were now seen to the best advantage, the mist having cleared away.

The green plain of this short strath, fringed in some places with natural wood, terminates about three miles above Crinlarich. At the point of termination, an excellent sheep farmhouse appears on the opposite side, near the place where a fine green pass in the northern ridge opens a way to the hills behind; and between this house and the road, is the celebrated pool of St. Fillan, who has given name to the valley, and deprived the Etterick of a privilege enjoyed by most other rivers. In 1354, King Robert Bruce established here a priory of canons regular; which with all the revenues, at

the dissolution of the religious houses in Scotland, came into the possession of the Braidalbane family. This priory was consecrated to St. Fillan; who, for several reasons alleged, deserved well of King Robert in particular, and of Scotland in general. He was one of those Saints, who converted the ancient inhabitants of these valleys and mountains from Paganism to Christianity; he endowed the sacred pool with its miraculous remedial qualities, and gave the Scots the victory at Bannock-burn. Immersion in the pool is esteemed a sovereign remedy for lunacy; and patients, after the ceremonies of being carried round a neighbouring cairn, plunged in the pool, and left all night bound hand and foot in a lonely chapel, have, in some instances, at some subsequent period recovered; and the fact is sufficiently credible, whatever opinion may be entertained as to the cause. The arm of the saint had been preserved as a sacred relic, and the shrine in which it was kept was carried to the field of Bannock-burn. The shrine was opened, but no arm was found, an alarming omen for the Scots; but before the battle commenced, the arm was miraculously restored to its place, and the circumstance being industriously published to the army, the mi-

raclé was considered as a certain pledge on the part of the Saint, that he was resolved to give them the victory.

A little above the green valley, the road, crossing the river by a bridge over the Ete-
rick, still a considerable stream even at the base of the masses from which it receives the first of its waters, stretches for about two miles along a barren circular field, covered with heath, and almost surrounded by immense mountains. A chapel of ease, attached to the parish of Killin, appears on the left bank of the stream ; the unavoidable extent of the parishes, and dispersion of the thin population in these wide wastes, rendering such appendages a matter of absolute necessity for the religious instruction of the people. As one approaches the narrow opening on the north-west, through which the road escapes from this mountain enclosure, the inn of Tyandrum, and the village behind it, are seen in the middle of this vast gateway. A stream from the western face of the mountains, on the east, descends between the inn and the village ; and, encountering in the deepest hollow the base of the opposite mass, is turned eastwards through the enclosure already mentioned ; where it is joined by another stream from the western mountains, these two streams being the highest

and most remote sources of the Tay, which, with reference to the quantity of water it carries to the sea, is the greatest river in Britain. In the face of the mountain, which forms the end or head of the western semi-circular ridge nearest the village, a deep cut is made from the top to the bottom, exhibiting, in the sides of the chasm and the substance thrown out on its banks, a soil of a gray or bluish white colour. This is the lead mine of Tyandrum, which at this period remained unwrought, not, as the natives stated, from any deficiency in the mine, but from want of capital in the hands of the former tenant or contractor, to enable him to use the proper means for extracting the material.

The ground in this neighbourhood is the highest line or ridge of the inclined plane from west to east, which is the shape of Scotland. The country rises from the German Ocean, by a long and gradual ascent to this height, and then falls by a short and rapid descent to the Atlantic. All the great rivers, except the Clyde, flow to the east; and on the eastern coast are to be found the deepest and best soils, in the best sheltered situations. In the narrow steep western face, exposed to all the violent winds of the Atlantic, the soil is thin, but, owing to the con-

stant rains, usually covered with fine verdure, affording excellent pasture for sheep and cattle. The stupendous masses, which shoot up from this lofty height, send down from one side the torrents that rush through the glens of the Urchay and Argyleshire Lochy, towards the west; and, at the base of the vast mountain of Cruachan, about thirteen or fourteen miles from Tyandrum, fall into Loch Awe: from which with the waters of the lake they are discharged by the river Awe, after a course of from twenty to thirty miles in all, into the Western Ocean. From the same mountains, on another side, descend the streams which form the most distant branches of the Tay, commencing, like the Spey, the Forth, and other great rivers, its long eastern journey almost on the shores of the Atlantic, and receiving as it proceeds many tributary supplies from the mountains on its sides. First running eastwards through the valleys of Strathfillan and Glendochart, and receiving the Perthshire Lochy from the north, it falls into the west end of Loch Tay at Killin. Issuing in a still larger volume of water from the east end of that lake, it continues an easterly course through the Ballach, where it is joined by the Lyon from the north, to Logierait at the lower extremity of Strath Tay; and uniting at that

point with the large river Tummel from the north, it turns south to Dunkeld, where it receives the Bran from the south-west. Having thus traversed the long valley, which under different names extends from Tyandrum to the hills of Birnam and Newtyle below Dunkeld, the swollen flood rolls from its mountain barriers, and flows east and south-east for eight miles through the fertile valley of Strathmore, where it receives the Isla from the north. Turning afterwards, by a sudden bend, west and south-west, and then directly south, it flows for twelve miles, receiving the Almond from the west, through the fine plain of Perth Proper to the town of Perth. Having received the waters of the Earn from the south-west, a little below Perth, it falls into the firth of Tay at low water mark, near the town of Newburgh in Fife, after a course of about ninety miles, first through deep and comparatively narrow passes, among immense mountains, and then through some of the most fertile champaign country in Scotland. Opening at Newburgh into a wide æstuary, and stretching eastwards for about forty miles, having on the south the coast of Fife, and on the north the coasts of Perth and Angus, including the carse of Gowrie and town of Dundee, to a line between Fifeness and the vici-

nity of Aberbrothick, it there spreads out into the German Ocean, to which it carries the waters of 2396 square miles.

As the valley through which the river flows rises towards the west, the scale of the adjoining mountains gradually increases in magnitude and height; and although particular masses, such as Ben Lawers, of the greatest bulk and height, are situate about the middle, the mountains on the ridge or highest side of the plane, and those behind it on the west, against which it leans, such as Benichewan and Benlaoighe, are in their general aspect more stupendous and lofty. The same general appearance of immense size and height, in the mountains, is continued during the short and steep descent from the ridge to the western sea-coast; and the vast mountain of Crùachan, with one side a few miles to the west of this elevated line, and another in the Atlantic, is 1190 yards high, and above twenty miles in circumference.

Torrents of smuggled whiskey, increasing as they proceed, descend from both sides of the ridge; the general tendency, like the course of the great rivers, being towards the east and south-east. The illicit manufacture of this article is almost universal over all the highlands and islands; and whiskey is to the full as much a

staple commodity as black cattle, sheep, and wool. The people, anxious to remain among their native straths and mountains, outbid the great capitalists for their possessions ; and the smuggling of whiskey is the only resource for the regular payment of their rents. The heavy duties on home-made spirits having debased the quality, while it has raised the price, the superiority of the smuggled article is so palpable, that the demand for it is universal among spirit drinkers of all ranks, at any price not exceeding the prices of the best foreign spirits, to which the highland whiskey is preferred by many. The temptation therefore to the highlanders, to avail themselves of the facilities afforded by their extensive wastes, and almost inaccessible mountains, to manufacture this article, is irresistible. Some carry it on in the valley ; and when any one of those engaged in it observes the approach of the excise officers, a concerted signal is hoisted, and every illicit article is immediately concealed. Others for greater security retire to the hills, remote woods, and recesses of the mountains ; and centinels are stationed in particular convenient situations to give notice of the approach of any suspicious persons ; and upon a signal from any of the centinels, every seizable article is in the same manner instantly

concealed. In the middle of the darkest and most stormy nights, the whiskey is sent down towards the low country on horseback, or in carts along the great roads, in bladders carried on men's shoulders along the pathless wilds, or in boats along the lakes and rivers; the smugglers sometimes proceeding singly, trusting to the better opportunity of concealment, at other times uniting in considerable parties, and placing their security on their formidable appearance and numbers. Journeying by night, and hiding by day, they usually convey their commodity to its destination, and the day-light traveller then sees them returning joyfully with their empty casks. When united in large parties, they sometimes travel with their whiskey by day; and the excise officers, although they meet them on the road, feel it necessary to allow them to pass without asking questions, or find reason to repent their useless interference. Seizures however are frequently made, owing chiefly to information given by rival smugglers, or other informers, who direct the excise officers to the hiding places; and some are thus compelled to discontinue the practice, who have been heard to declare that they would have held as nothing the unassisted efforts of the excise.

Those who engage in the smuggling of malt

or whiskey, or both, may be divided into three classes ; first, the small farmers, who smuggle only at certain seasons, and to no greater extent than they find necessary to enable them to pay their rents ; second, those small farmers and country tradesmen, such as smiths, carpenters, &c. who carry on the smuggling business also as a regular trade ; third, those whose sole occupation is smuggling. Persons of the first and second classes are by repeated seizures and fines sometimes driven into the last class, and persons of the last class are forced to discontinue the practice, when deprived of the little capital or credit, requisite to procure the smuggling materials. The far greater number, however, contrive to draw sufficient emolument from the trade, to answer their immediate occasions, and many make by it what they consider as fortunes. This success, and the greatness of the profits, lead many, even of the most respectable highland corn farmers, to engage in the trade, at least so far as to convert into whiskey a considerable portion of their own barley ; while the comparatively easy labour, and the indulgencies with which the practice is attended, form additional temptations to the idle and the dissolute, who belong chiefly to the last class. Much of the barley used for this manufacture is brought

from the low country, the carriage being facilitated by the excellent roads now made through all the most important highland valleys ; and a boll of this barley, purchased perhaps at thirty shillings, and malted or distilled for ten or fifteen shillings more, is returned to the south in an anker of whiskey, of the value of 10*l.* without reckoning the refuse, which is employed in feeding cattle and poultry ; so that one anker passed will more than repay the loss of two ankens seized. The quality of the spirit is, generally speaking, in proportion to the remoteness or inaccessibility of the place where it is made. In the lower highland districts, where detection is more frequent, although nothing but barley is used, except in seasons when that grain is excessively scarce, the processes of malting, steeping, and distilling, are often performed in a hurried and imperfect manner, and the quality of the article is so far deteriorated. But in the higher wastes, and less accessible situations, where detection is very difficult, all these processes are conducted in the proper manner, and the quality of the article is superior or perfect in its kind. In many of the latter places, the same pot which serves for cooking the family dinner, is used for the making of whiskey, in small quantities at a time, in the same manner

probably as the whiskey called *poteen* is made in Ireland, by little farmers or cottagers, who cannot so well provide the materials for distilling to any greater extent, or the means of distant conveyance; and the collected store is purchased at a comparatively low price by the more considerable smuggling distillers, who drive it, along with the whiskey made by themselves, to the low country, which is the great market. Many persons, residing near the borders, make a trade of purchasing up the whiskey brought from the remoter highlands, and driving it to the lowlands, where it is re-sold with a high profit.

This great trade is carried on at all seasons; and even in the month of September, 1818, although in the upper highlands the harvest was not then finished, smugglers were seen on the roads, returning from their southern or lowland expeditions, though not in such numbers as may be observed at other times, when the business proceeds with the greatest activity. The immorality of the practice, from the injury done to the public and regular distiller, few of them can clearly comprehend, and, if they could, the impression would avail but little against the force of the temptation. The whiskey drinkers also easily settle the matter with their consciences, maintaining that it cannot

reasonably be expected that they should drink what they are pleased to term poison, merely because it happens to be prepared according to law ; and that if they cannot procure the smuggled whiskey, they can drink no whiskey at all, a very hard alternative for them, and of no use to the public or the legal distiller. An act was passed two or three years ago, which promised to be of considerable use in checking this practice of illicit distillation. Small stills were to be licensed, the border regulation confining highland-made whiskey to the highlands was to be abrogated ; and the distiller, instead of paying a large annual sum certain for his licence, was to pay only 10*l.* with a duty on the quantity of spirits actually distilled, which would have enabled him to discontinue at unfavourable periods, without much loss. If the plan were to succeed, these small regular distillers would prove the most efficient excise officers, without additional expense to the public. But it does not seem to have been adopted so generally as was expected, owing in some degree, perhaps, to the very unfavourable season for the distilleries, at which it was first attempted to be brought into operation, but in a much greater measure probably to a more permanent cause, the inveterate habit, among such multitudes, of

distilling without payment of duty, and the enormous profits attending the evasion of so heavy a tax. The general adoption of the plan would be the more desirable, because, at these little distilleries, a good article of the kind would probably be manufactured. It is said that in Athol, and probably in other districts on the borders of the lowlands, many of the smugglers have been compelled to discontinue, and others to distil legally upon the above-mentioned plan.

CHAP. V.

FROM TYANDRUM,

Miles.

KING'S HOUSE. 19

Defile of the ridge-house—Remarkable improvement in high-land inns and roads—Public money granted for the construction of roads and bridges in the highlands, and plan of applying it—Highland pastures in connexion with low-land farms—Argyleshire, general description of the county—Argyleshire Lochy, river and glen—Macgregors—Glenurchay, river—Glencouglas—Mountains, Ben-our, Bendouran, Bendoe—Duncan Bane, the bard—Moor of Rannoch—Lochtally—Lochlyddoch—Natural woods—Black mountain—Buachailietie—Glenetie—Etie river—Tyanree (King's house)—Roots of decayed pine trees seen along the road—Ancient forests of Scotland—Causes of their destruction—Cut down by orders of Severus, of Lancaster, of General Monk—Flocks of sheep on the road, proceeding to Falkirk tryste, all of the speckled or black and white-faced kind—Linton, and aboriginal breeds—Minerals.

THE narrow pass in which Tyandrum is situate is the highest hollow of the elevated side

of the plane of Scotland, and the highest inhabited ground in Great Britain ; and as this is the only communication opened by nature among the surrounding, stupendous, and closely crowded masses between the long valley of the Tay in the east, and the deep dells leading to the Atlantic, it is probable that a ridge-house, which has given name to the place and the village, had in remote times been here established for the accommodation of travellers, although not so well adapted for the purpose as the present ridge-house, which is a very good inn. It is a remarkable circumstance, in the progress of improvement, that in the highlands of Scotland, where within the memory of man neither a good road nor a good inn were to be found, the roads are now among the best, and the inns among the most convenient and comfortable in the whole world.

From the commencement of the reign of King William, till 1745, the highlands had been the focus of rebellion in favour of the Stuart family, which the almost inaccessible state of the country rendered it difficult to suppress. It was therefore deemed expedient to attempt to form a more open communication between these mountains and the low country ; and between the years 1726 and 1737, the first regular

roads and bridges in the highlands were made by a party of 500 soldiers, under the directions of General Wade. After the rebellion in 1745, government caused some additional roads to be made by the military, to open an easier passage for troops to those points of the highlands where garrisons were maintained; and upon these roads, with the same view, were established at convenient stages victualling or ale-houses, many of which came afterwards to be good inns. Whether the ridge-house had this origin, or existed previously, this pass, through which the military road from Perth to Inver Lochy in Lochaber was carried, was a suitable situation for one of these houses. When the importance of good roads for the purposes of commercial intercourse came to be better understood, the highland proprietors were naturally anxious to enjoy those advantages from an increased number and better construction of roads, which they saw possessed by the landed proprietors in the south. But from the wide extent of the highlands, compared with the population, and the long stretch of road necessary for the conveyance to market of the produce of their farms and fisheries, it was impossible that the requisite roads could be formed by means of the ordinary resources of the statute labour; commuted

for money or not, and sums borrowed on the security of tolls. In the highlands, therefore, the progress of improvement must have been considerably checked, if the executive government, with the consent, and by the authority of the legislature, had not thought it right to apply some of the public money to the construction of roads and bridges in that division of the country. Since 1803, a sum of 20,000*l.* has been annually granted, or was granted till lately, for that purpose. The money was vested in the hands of commissioners, who had authority to advance half of the estimated expense of such roads and bridges as should be deemed of general advantage, on condition that the proprietors of that part of the country more immediately interested, should advance the other half, and become bound to see the work properly executed. Private interest was in this manner wisely combined with the public fund ; and it has been said that by means of this regulation, and the ability and diligence of the commissioners in ascertaining the most proper situations for the roads, and ensuring the due execution of the work, few instances have occurred in which the public money has been so efficiently applied to the purpose, for which it was granted. The result is, that now there is no

part of the island more easy of access than many of the principal straths and glens among these once impervious mountains and wide wastes, which still from the nature of such situations necessarily afford the means of concealment required for the purpose of the smuggler. The carriage of grain and wool is thus facilitated, and even the driving of sheep and cattle.

In support of this grant of public money, it probably was argued, as it has been in favour of the much larger sums given for the purposes of the Caledonian Canal, that the construction of roads and bridges in the highlands would check the practice of emigration. But the real and direct tendency of these improvements, however valuable in other respects, is to promote the progress of depopulation and emigration. The facility of communication and distinct conveyance, opening a more extensive, constant, and better market for the produce, is one of the chief circumstances which attracts to the highlands the great capitalist to the expulsion of the ancient race of small farmers, by hundreds and thousands. A considerable portion of the lower districts of the highlands is already rented as summer pasture for the herds and flocks of the farmer, grazier, and cattle-dealer of the adjacent lowlands, who manages, by means of a

single shepherd, a tract of ground which formerly contained twenty or thirty families of little farmers. This system is rapidly spreading, especially in those districts where the proprietor of the land never resides upon it. The landlord, by this arrangement, has his rent paid in one sum, without trouble in the collection, and is relieved from the expense of buildings and repairs; and the plan is no less convenient for the farmer, who in winter brings down to the low country a part of the cattle to fatten on turnip and potatoes, and to convert the green crop and straw into manure for the arable farm; and then, as he thinks proper, sells them, or returns them to the summer pasture. The highland grazing place enables him in this way to clean and manure in perfection, and turn to its utmost account the farm below; and both together, by affording a constant supply of food for his live stock, enable him to wait for and choose the most proper times for selling and purchasing to the best advantage; the two farms thus reciprocally enhancing the value of each other. It must be admitted, however, that these roads are favourable to the retention of the population, so far as they facilitate the commerce in smuggled whiskey.

A stone in the middle of the upper wall or

parapet of a bridge across a stream, which forms one of the heads of the Tay, a few yards to the north-west of the inn, marks the limits of Braidalbane, and the county of Perth, in this quarter; and the traveller, after passing that stone, is in the district of Glenurchay and Glenetie, the most north-easterly division of Argyleshire. This county, stretching along the western sea-coast, from the Mull of Kintyre, in the latitude of Ayrshire on the south, to Loch-Eil and Lochaber on the north, in this quarter occupies the whole of the breadth between the ridge and the Atlantic. The general aspect is mountainous and barren, the heath-covered rocks descending to the edge of the sea. Among the mountains, there are many fine pastoral valleys, in which, and even in the spaces between the mountain rocks, nearest the sea, bere and oats are produced; but at the southern point, and there only, wheat, barley, and beans, are raised. The corn is often cut down in the midst of rain, and in some places immediately hung on pegs in drying houses, of which the Duke of Argyll's barns at Inverary afford the best specimen. The climate being mild and humid, there is always good pasture; snow remaining but a very short time in the valleys, during the severest winters. Potatoes are cultivated with

success ; and, together with milk and fish, chiefly herrings, are the principal food of the people. The Earl of Braidalbane has an extensive property in the county, but the Duke of Argyle is the only resident nobleman. The most general name is Campbell, and after it the most common are, Cameron, Lamont, Macdonald, Macdougall, M'Laughlan, Maclean, and Stewart. Part of the county, for about 500 years subsequent to the eighth or ninth century, was subject, together with the isles, to the Danes and Norwegians, and afterwards to the lords of the isles, with a dependance, often merely nominal, on the Scottish monarch. These lords, aiming at complete independence, were overpowered by the King ; and the Campbells, possibly a tribe of the Macdonalds, distinguished by that appellation, rose on the ruined fortunes of their brethren, as well as of the Macgregors.

At the Argyle end of the bridge, the road divides into two branches ; one being what is called a parliamentary road, stretching by a steep and rapid descent, in a direction about due west, through the deep and narrow glen of Lochy to Dalmally and Inverary ; the other, called the military road, stretching north-west, through Glenurchay to Tyanree (the King's House) and Inverlochy. The former road passes

through the village of Tyandrum, which is on the west of the bridge in Argyleshire, while the inn is in Perthshire; and then proceeds, by a steep and rapid descent, through the Argyleshire Glenloch, one of the subdivisions of Glenurchay. In the upper part of Glenloch, the stupendous mountains, among which Benichewan and Benlaoighe are remarkable, shoot up in a tapering conical shape to a vast height, and are covered all over from their broad bases, almost touching each other below, to the highest points, with narrow belts or rings of short grass edged by the bare rock; the green hue, notwithstanding the wildness of situation, conveying a gay pleasing impression, when compared with the gloom of the dark heath, which finds no depth of soil sufficient for its support among these hard and nearly perpendicular masses. The glen opens towards the lower end, and displays meadows of rich natural grass and cornfields, with farm steadings in the ancient stile. The torrents from the mountains, at the head of the vale, form there a little lake, which gives name to the glen; and the stream of the Lochy, issuing from this lake, after a course of ten miles, during which it swells into a considerable river, joins the main stream of Urchay, about two miles above Dalmally, once the residence of

the chiefs of the Macgregors, from which they were driven by the knight of Lochawe, whose descendants still retain this fine situation ; where there is an excellent inn, as is usually the case on all the roads which are carried along the extensive property of the Lord of the Ballach.

The other road turning to the right, a little above the village of Tyandrum, consisting of only a very few low straw or heath-thatched cottages for labourers at the lead mine, including one for the smith, who is a convenient and almost an indispensable tradesman in the neighbourhood of a well frequented inn, stretches for about half a furlong along the ridge ; and then suddenly descends, in the face of a long and steep declivity, into the hollow of another branch of Glenurchay, where there is a fine broad green plain, or meadow, with a substantial sheep farm-house in the middle. Into this plain, two torrents pour down from the west side of the mountains on the ridge, one from the height of Tyandrum, another from a glen a little further to the north-west, called Glencouglass ; and, uniting below, form together a considerable river for about two miles north-west, through a rich green and wide valley, to the principal branch of the river Urchay. The banks of the stream on the left of the road (the

west) is beautifully fringed along almost the whole of its course with natural wood, chiefly alder; and on the right (the east), the mountains which support, and partly rise above the highest part of the ridge, are of the very first order, wild and lofty, with circular belts of short grass between lines of projecting bare rock, like those of Glenloch, but in size still more massy and stupendous. The first that occurs after passing the torrent of Glencouglas is the vast conical mass of Ben-our, whose tapering shape and pointed top attracts the attention of the traveller immediately after leaving Tyandrum, before he reaches the descent into the plain, where the whole side of the mountain is seen in the vastness of its bulk and height. Adjoining to it, is the still more enormous mass of Bendouran, rising more equal and uniform, and terminating in a broad and airy summit; and next to that, but with a deep narrow corry between, is Bendoe, of similar size and shape. Bendouran is celebrated in Gaelic song, being the subject of a good descriptive poem, by Duncan M'Intyre, better known by the name of Duncan Bane, a distinguished bard, who about forty years ago was a common soldier in the old town guard of Edinburgh. He had fought on the side of government at the battle of Falkirk, in

1745 ; and from a song of his respecting that engagement, it appears that he was far from being sorry that the victory was not on his side.

Arrived at that part of the road which skirts the base of Bendouran, we have a view of the course of the main stream of the Urchay, for a considerable portion of its extent: Issuing from a lake which appears under the northern face of Bendoe, called Lochtally, or by some such name, it directs its course to the south-west ; and, having received the stream from Glencouglas and the heights to the north-west of Tyan-drum, it continues its south-westerly course for ten or twelve miles through a beautiful glen, the chief valley of Glenurchay, thickly fringed with natural wood, and covered below with the richest green pasture, overhung on each side by long ridges of vast mountains, some green and rocky, others covered with heath. Issuing from this narrow glen, it receives the waters of the Lochy already mentioned, and flows through the fine and open plain of Dalmally into Loch Awe, from which it is carried along the base of Cruachan by the river Awe, in a north-westerly direction into the arm of the sea called Lochetie.

At the foot of Bendouran, the road descends into the depth of the glen, and, crossing the

river stretches along the western side, through a wood of natural pines, most of them almost rotten with age, to the west point of the lake, which seems to be about a mile and a half long, and rather less than a quarter of a mile broad. The north-westerly direction of the immense mountains, on the east of the road from Tyandrum, terminates with Bendoe at this lake, and the lofty range turning towards the east becomes the southern boundary wall of the wide and moorish plain, which opens towards the north and east. The traveller, after passing the end of the lake, and advancing near the summit of a ridge, of no great height, formed by a gradual declination of the bases of the mountains, on the west towards the level of the moor, has a full view of the southern part of this extended flat, which is called the moor of Rannoch, and is said to be twenty miles square. From the south-western portion of this moor, and from the bounding mountains and narrow glens on the south and west, torrents are seen rushing towards the hollow of the lake, and uniting to form the stream of the Urchay ; while far in the east is seen Loch Lyddoch, with its fringing groves of natural wood, which discharges its waters eastwards into Loch Rannoch, and is one of the sources of the Tummel and the Tay.

Loch Lyddoch, six miles long, and about one mile broad, is partly in Perthshire, and partly in Argyleshire; and a portion of the Rannoch, or north-western division of Perthshire, is here seen on the east of the elevated side of the plane of Scotland, which stretches to the north along the moor. The noise and rapid evanescent motion of the infinite variety of glittering torrents and streamlets, leaping down the craggy sides, gushing from the dark recesses, and winding along the rich green bases of these stupendous masses, serve to enliven this wild, extended scene, where the eye is relieved by no vestige of human habitation. Further on, the appearance of desolation increases, as the road stretches along the height of the ridge, which divides the upper part of the glens of Urchay and Etie. On the right, the black mountain shoots up to the heavens in separate dark masses, some dusky brown mosses above, and short heath below, being the only marks of vegetation; and on the left, nothing is seen but a vast extent of mossy moor, covered with heath; the gloom of which is hardly diminished by the gray colour of stones which are scattered over its surface. No green spot occurs to cheer the dismal prospect; and the traveller concludes that he has reached the extreme of desolation, till on arri-

ving at the Glenetie side of the ridge, the eye suddenly encounters the horrible aspect of the vast mountain of Buachailletie (the Etie Shepherd), which, from the summit to the base of its immense bulk, presents only the sharp perpendicular edges of innumerable layers of bare rock, without, on that side, the slightest trace of vegetation. The shape of the ground, as seen from the height after passing the black mountain, is a wide circular plain, with a gentle declination from the level of the moor towards the west, where two narrow passes, one (Glenetie) stretching to the south-west, the other (Glenco) to the north-west, which is the line of the road, open into a labyrinth of the wildest and most stupendous masses. The plain presents an uniform surface of heath and stones, save the little spot of green in the middle—an oasis in the desert—where the King's House stands on the banks of the Etie river, which rolls along the plain, from the moor to the western barrier; and, entering the south-western pass under the dark brow of the Shepherd, dashes through the glen, and discharges its waters into the east end of Lochetie. The King's House is the only human habitation in view, and although but an indifferent inn, may well be regarded as a palace in this dreary wilderness.

Nearly along the whole of this extent of nineteen miles, from Tyandrum to Tyanree, or the King's House, through the upper or eastern portion of the Glenurchay division, decaying roots of pine-trees, many of which were of great size, appear on each side of the road, and in the lower part of the mountain sides ; and in the intervening corries and narrow dells, as well as on the banks of the rivers and lakes, patches of natural fir and other trees may be seen, affording the strongest indications that the tract was formerly covered with a forest of Scotch fir and other indigenous wood. Similar forests, it will hardly be questioned, spread over all the valleys, hills, moors, and mosses of Scotland, although in many places the indications are not so distinctly visible as in this quarter, where the decay of a considerable part of the forest has been but recent, and where some of it still exists. Much of these extensive forests was cut down from various views, chiefly to prevent their affording shelter and rallying points to those, who maintained the independence of the nation during the efforts, that in different ages were made to subdue the country ; and a great part perished by natural decay—the pasturing of sheep and cattle on the ground where they stood, and want of inclosure, effectually, in the

highlands, preventing their reproduction. A ship of immense size having been constructed at Syracuse, by the celebrated Archimedes, 200 years before the Christian era, a proper mainmast, as Athenæus relates, could be found only in the mountains of Britain. The Emperor Severus, according to Herodian and Dion Cassius, employed, in the year 207, legions, auxiliary troops and natives, in cutting down the forests of Scotland, in which undertaking he is said to have lost 50,000 men, probably from the pestilential effect of the swamps, as well as the opposition of the Scots. At a later period, 24,000 axes were employed by John, Duke of Lancaster, for the same purpose. Woods in the north were cut down and burned by the Danes; some forests near Inverary were destroyed by King Robert Bruce, in an expedition against Cummin; and the following order by Monk, (when left in Scotland by Cromwell, to crush any attempts that might be made to restore the royal family of that period,) to cut down certain woods about Aberfoyle, is yet extant: "Whereas
" the woods of Milton and Glenshart in Aber-
" foyle parish are great shelters to the rebels
" and mossers, and do thereby bring many in-
" conveniences to the country thereabouts—
" These are to desire you on sight hereof to

“ give order for the cutting down of the woods
“ with all possible expedition, that so they may
“ not any longer be a harbour or shelter for
“ loose, idle and desperate persons ; and hereof
“ you are not to fayle. Given under my
“ hand and seale at Cardrosse, the 17th May,
“ 1654, George Monk.—To the right honour-
“ able the Earl of Earth ” (Airth).

These circumstances sufficiently account for the bleak and naked appearance of many of the hills and moors of Scotland, which were once clothed with the finest forests; and much has been done, and still continues to be done, to restore this woody covering, although in several places recent plantations have been grubbed up where they were injudiciously formed on ground more valuable for pasture or tillage. Large logs of oak have been discovered in the highland mosses, even on the north of the Tay ; but pine is the wood usually found in the mosses to the north of the Forth, and oak in the mosses on the south of that river.

Notwithstanding the wild and desolate general aspect of a great part of the tract, the road at this time, from the 23d September to the 4th October, was far from being solitary. After passing, on the 23d September, the point where the road from Lochearn-head and Crief

joins that from Killin to Tyandrum, the King's House and Fort William, large flocks of sheep with their drivers were met on their way to the Falkirk tryste (fair); and, on the 3d October, a considerable extent of the road through Glenurchay was almost covered with flocks of sheep and droves of cattle, proceeding to the same destination from the district of Morven in Argyleshire, and the western coast and islands of Ross-shire. The flocks and droves from these quarters pass the Inverness-shire Lochy at the head of Loch Linne, or are ferried across that lake about ten miles further west, at the ferry of Corran, and are then driven round the head of the Argyleshire Loch Leven, through Glenurchay and Braidalbane, by Lochearn-head and Crief to Falkirk. The greater part of the cattle and sheep were small in size; many of the former lean, and some of them ill-shaped, a bad property which does not usually belong to the cattle of the western coast. All the flocks which were met on this occasion, on the Braidalbane and Glenurchay road, were, without exception, of the speckled, or black and white-faced kind—a circumstance rather remarkable, considering the general preference which has for some time been given in the highlands, to the Linton or black-faced mountain breed, which

has been thus described. " His body is of a
" plump barrel shape, his head horned, and his
" face and slender legs are as black as jet, with-
" out any mixture of white. His face is set
" off with a thick prominent collar of wool sur-
" rounding the neck. He is the boldest, the
" most hardy and active of all the sheep kind.
" He fattens readily, and to a considerable size ;
" and when he is of a proper age, with access
" to heath, his meat by general consent is pre-
" ferable to every other sort of mutton, that of
" the small native race perhaps excepted."*
The same writer adds : " It is uncertain from
" whence this black-faced breed was originally
" derived ; but there is a tradition of its having
" been first planted on the King's farm, in the
" forest of Ettrick. That farm used to contain
" a flock of 5000 sheep for the use of the
" King's household, and probably gave rise to
" that mode of sheep-farming which still sub-
" sists in the south of Scotland." This breed,
being introduced into the west highlands in
1762, soon spread over a large portion of the
country ; and it seems singular, considering its
peculiar adaptation for bearing the rigours of
the highland climate, and to fatten on the high-

* Walker's Hebrides.

land pastures, that it did not supersede every other kind. But a great part of the ground was in the hands of those who had neither capital to procure, nor intelligence to understand, the value of the best breed, and who therefore retained whatever kind they found previously established in the vicinity. The small white or dun-faced sheep, called the aboriginal breed, said to have been derived from Denmark or Norway, might perhaps have been preferred by many, on account of its finer fleece; and this breed is still to be found in considerable numbers, particularly in the northern and western isles. This native race is said to be hardy and remarkably prolific, but of a diminutive size, which seems however to be owing to bad management, the bulk having been greatly increased by means of a better system. The wool, although fine, is so thin and open, that it does not sufficiently shelter the animal, a defect which may be cured by judicious crosses. The following observations on this breed in the General Agricultural Report are material, and may reasonably be concluded to have come from a competent judge of the matter. "The produce of this breed, managed in so barbarous a manner, must be inconsiderable both to the owner and occupier of the soil. The fineness

“ of the wool of all the varieties, particularly
“ of some of the Shetland sheep, seems to
“ prove, however, that neither the climate nor
“ the pasture of the northern isles are unfavour-
“ able to the growth of fine wool. The im-
“ mense improvements, which may in time be
“ effected in the fleeces of the sheep of the
“ north of Scotland, by judicious crosses with
“ a fine close-woolled race, and the vast advan-
“ tages that would result from it to the pro-
“ prietors and the public at large, cannot easily
“ be calculated. It is perhaps not too rash to
“ observe, that, had the same attention been
“ every where paid to the fleece of this native
“ race that has been given to the form of some
“ other breeds, there would have been no oc-
“ casion at this time for importing Spanish and
“ other wools, unless perhaps a little of the
“ very finest quality. It is in such situations as
“ the north of Scotland, and not on the finer
“ pastures of the low country, where the qua-
“ lity of the fleece ought always to be a subor-
“ dinate consideration to the weight of the car-
“ case, that experiments should be made with a
“ fine-woolled breed of sheep.” The improve-
ments mentioned in this extract have already
been successfully commenced in some parts
of the highlands ; and since the introduction of

the Merino flocks, experiments were projected, and have probably been since made by crosses between the native and Merino race. If by these means a variety could be produced of the native race, uniting the several qualities of hardiness, large size, and fine close fleece, the natural result would be, that this variety will supersede all others, not excepting the black-faced mountain breed.

Slate, iron, lead, cobalt, and other minerals, have been found in this division of Argyleshire.

CHAP. VI.

FROM THE KING'S HOUSE,

	Miles.
GLENCO.....	1
LOCHLEVEN SIDE....	10

King's House—Macgregors; their extensive possessions in this quarter, their proscription, &c.—Glenco, Buachailetie and its other mountains, singular wildness of its grand scenery—Coan river, supposed by some to be the Cona of Ossian—Opinions respecting the authenticity of the poems ascribed to Ossian—Macdonalds of Glenco joined Claverhouse, and fought in the battle of Killicrankie—Chief of Glenco takes the oath of allegiance to King William—Massacre of the people of the glen—Report of the royal commissioners respecting this massacre.

THE King's House, as the name implies, was established in this wilderness by government, for the accommodation of troops on their march by this road to the garrisons of Fort William at Inverlochy, and Fort Augustus at Kilcumin, in the great glen; and although this inn is not equal to those which have hitherto oc-

curred on this road, the wild, bleak, and desolate appearance of every surrounding object, gives it an air of comparative comfort, and renders the traveller less disposed to quarrel with his entertainment. After a long stage of nineteen miles, those who take this road can hardly dispense with stopping here, for refreshment for themselves and their horses; and the house is convenient as a place of temporary residence, for those who follow the sports of the field in this vicinity, which abounds with grouse, and every kind of game to be found in the highlands of Scotland, so that the inn is well frequented in the summer and autumn seasons. From the King's House, there is a foot and horse road, but impassable for carriages, over the moor to the head of Rannoch, which is fifteen miles distant. The moorish field on which the King's House stands, belongs to the Earl of Braidalbane; and with this field, or somewhere in its vicinity, terminates the division of Glenurchay and Glenetie, and the property of the Braidalbane family in this direction of north-west, extending however west and south-west, to Argyle Proper and the Western Ocean. Glenurchay, which now gives the title of Viscount to the Braidalbane family, together with the whole or nearly the whole range of mountains and valleys, from

Loch Awe by Tyandrum to the foot of the Ballach, including Glenlyon, once belonged to the ancient and powerful clan of the Macgregors, whose former extensive settlements in this quarter now constitute a great proportion of the Braidalbane property. The incorrigible turbulence of the Macgregors afforded frequent occasions for the encroachments of the Loch Awe family, who had the advantage of acting under government commissions; and Macgregor a Rua-shruth (Macgregor, from the red torrent), whose death is still lamented in Gaelic song, a gallant young heir of the chief, having been surprised and killed by the knight of Loch-Awe, in the reign of James the Fourth, the fortunes of the clan continued to decline, and they were gradually driven from this vicinity, and confined to their settlements about Loch Lomond. The battle of Glenfruin, between the Macgregors and Colquhouns in 1606, in which the Colquhouns were defeated, and slaughtered almost to the extinction of their name, led to the proscription of the Macgregors, who were for many years after pursued and destroyed like wild beasts. A party of them was surprised in a cave of the rocks above the falls of the Tummel, and some having been killed, and the rest having scrambled to the top of a tree which grew hori-

zonally out of some soil in the interstices of the rocks, the tree was cut and precipitated with those who clung to it into the gulf below. Some time afterwards, a party of seventeen of them, including the Chief, Alastar of Glenstrae, surrendered to Argyle, upon condition of being conducted safe into England, a condition which was kept to the ear, but broken to the sense; Argyle first taking them to the English border, and then back to Edinburgh, where they were hanged. The remains of the tribe changed their name, which had been suppressed by act of parliament; but during the lapse of nearly two centuries it was not forgotten, and on the repeal of the act was resumed by a very considerable number.

The road, passing over the bridge of Etie at the King's House, stretches along the moor to the Glenco pass, where the drove road by Kinloch-leven, which may be taken by travellers on horseback, strikes off to the right, being the shortest and most direct way to Inverlochy. But the road through Glenco by the ferry of Ballichelish, although longer by about six miles, is much better, and was chosen on this occasion for that reason, and also from a desire to see the scene of the memorable massacre. Buachaile-tie, the edge of that wedge-like range of moun-

taina, which rise between Glenetie and Glenco, guards the entrance into the two passes, having the dark colour of its immense layers of bare crags contrasted only with the long red and greyish streaks of dust, beaten from the solid rock by the almost incessant action of the wind and rain. The dusty streaks appear in the highest portions of Benmore, the mountains of Tyandrum, Benour, Bendouran, Bendoe, and the Black Mountain ; indicating the same kind of red stone, of which the vast mountain of Ben-Nevis in Lochaber is composed. In all these, some traces of vegetation are seen almost to the summit ; but in the view from the head of Glenco, the summits of the mountains on each side, destitute of every symptom of vegetable life, and strongly resembling their leader, the Etie Shepherd, present only a long series of prodigious heaps of red and grey powder, interspersed with black rocks, shooting up in every variety of shape, and terminating in flat round tops, sharp points, and long broken edges. The sublime, which had hitherto generally comprehended a considerable proportion of variety and beauty, here became almost purely terrible. On entering the glen, the mountains on each side appear to be stupendous masses of solid rock, rising perpendicularly from the bottom to a vast

height ; the hard stone but scantily in part concealed by the red dusty lines crossing each other in every direction in shallow furrows, formed by the storms, and serving as soil and support for a few short blades of grass ; which, together with some brown mosses and dark heath growing among the rocky fragments scattered over the narrow channel below, is the only vestige of vegetation that scarcely softens the horrific wildness of the scene. These dusty streaks and summits of sharp-edged perpendicular bare rock, remind one who has travelled in Switzerland of the tops of many of the Swiss mountains. The direction of the glen being commonly about due west, the descent from the general ridge is very rapid, so that the progress of travellers on horseback, or in carriages, is necessarily retarded, although the road itself is good, and much better than could have been well expected in this situation, probably the wildest and most remarkable in all the highlands. The upper part of the glen exhibits the same appearance of almost uniform wildness ; but, about the middle, the scene is agreeably diversified by the stream of the Coan, issuing from a small lake at that point, and by the green herbage which there begins to adorn the opening valley ; which, about three miles above the

lower extremity, turns to the north, and spreads out into a broad plain covered with rich verdant grass and natural wood, and bounded on the west by a considerable mountain green to the summit. In the face of one of the immense masses which rise above the lake, near the top, a large cavern appears, probably opened by the fall, from that place, of a piece of the rock loosened by some ordinary natural cause, but utterly inaccessible by any animal destitute of wings, unless by means of a rope let down from the summit. The length of this glen, from the Etie Shepherd to Loch Leven side, is about ten miles.

To those who believe in the authenticity of the poems ascribed to Ossian, and in the soundness of the conjecture that the stream of the Coan is the Cona celebrated by the bard, the wild and romantic scenery of this glen will be peculiarly interesting, from the associations connected with that belief. The existence of these poems, in any shape previous to the publication of the English translation, was so little known; their preservation during so long a period, in a language which had long ceased to be written, was so extraordinary; and much of the character and sentiment of the poetry itself was so inconsistent with the commonly received

notions of the state of society and manners in the highlands of Scotland, at the time of their original composition ; that the best evidence of their authenticity, that could possibly have been procured, ought to have accompanied their first publication in English. The old manuscripts as they were found, and the recitations exactly as written down, with the names of the reciters, and proper attestations of accuracy, should have been placed where they would be open to general inspection ; and it is to be lamented that this did not occur in its full force to those, who originally projected the collection of the poems, and furnished the means for carrying the design into execution, whatever might have been their confidence in any individual. This not being done, doubts as to their authenticity arose soon after they were published ; and it has been stated* that the manuscripts, meaning perhaps the old manuscripts, were left for a week at a bookseller's shop for inspection, and that notice of the circumstance was given by public advertisement. None, however, came to inspect, and from that time no answer to inquiries was given by the translator. Since his death, the poems have been published in the original language,

* Dr. Carlisle's Letter.

from manuscripts, it is understood, in his own hand-writing; but all the old manuscripts have, it seems, disappeared, and nothing is known respecting the recitations. A professor (Mr. Farquharson) in the Scotch College at Douay, had a large manuscript of Gaelic poems, which, before the appearance of the translations by Macpherson, he maintained to be equal or superior to the works of most of the Greek and Roman poets; and, after the publication of the translation, he frequently compared it with the original in his manuscript, and admitted its general accuracy.* When Mr. Farquharson died no care was taken to preserve the manuscript, nobody else about the college being aware of its value. Some inquiry was said to have been made about it, when Lord Lauderdale was in France negotiating for peace, during Mr. Fox's administration, but probably without effect. The question has, therefore, in a great measure, depended upon internal evidence derived from the translation and the published originals, and upon comparison with other ancient poems and fragments of poems collected in the highlands by different persons, especially by the late Dr. Smith, of Campbelton; who, although much

* Bishop Cameron's Letter.

more open and candid than Macpherson, has not been so full and particular in establishing the authenticity of his own collection as to place it beyond all question. In Macpherson's translation, as collated with his own originals, many errors, some of them very gross, and errors of that kind into which a person of his poetical taste was most likely to fall, have been discovered; and it has been said, with some show of reason, that to believe in a forgery, constructed with so much nicety, requires to the full as much faith as the belief in the authenticity. On the other hand it has been contended, that the suppression of the best evidence, the mystery in which these compositions were studiously involved, and the kind of management of which the alleged translator was supposed to be capable, even as an historian,* rendered it impossible to regard the authenticity of these poems as a matter of rationally confident conviction. To the force of this reasoning no unprejudiced person can be insensible; although it is possible that the design of the mystery and management might have been to encourage the notion, however erroneous, that the pretended translator was

* Mr. Fox's Letter to Mr. Laing.

the real author—a notion with which, as appears from what has been called his Confession, he was evidently flattered. The controversy on this subject has been nearly exhausted, and the evidence and arguments for the authenticity of the poems ascribed to Ossian, will be found in the Report of a Committee of the Highland Society, and in papers published, together with the alleged originals of the poems; and, on the other side, the evidence is stated, and the arguments powerfully enforced, in Mr. Laing's Dissertation, and in his Ossian; to all which, together with a work on the subject by Dr. Graham, of Aberfoyle, those who feel much interested about the question are referred; but as the public, when called upon for its assent, had a right to demand the best evidence of which the subject admitted, and as that was withheld by the translator, supposing him to be such, who alone had the power to produce it, the general conclusion seems to be that the whole is a forgery; and, although many may see reason not to be perfectly confident in that conclusion, nothing can now effectually destroy the impression except the very improbable event of the appearance of some ancient manuscript of unquestionable authenticity. If it be true, as related, that some of the Iona manu-

scripts were conveyed to Rome, it might, perhaps, be worth while to cause the Vatican library to be searched by persons, thoroughly acquainted with the original language and the old character in which it was written. Some, especially those who possess that particular kind of knowledge, which is necessary to enable any one to understand the full force of such evidence for the authenticity as has been brought forward, may have rational grounds for the opinion that the poems are in substance authentic; but as the translator has left them no means of knowing what portions of the compositions rest on the authority of old manuscripts, and what on the evidence of modern reciters, or of forming their own judgement as to what ought to be rejected as spurious, or retained as genuine and authentic, among the several recitations of the same poem, and what might be the most proper arrangement of the scattered pieces; even they cannot reasonably deny that the works of Ossian remain at present in an unsatisfactory state. But by those who can indulge the belief "that Fingal fought and Ossian sung," as they are represented in the published poems to have done—for that the one fought, and the other sung, in some manner,

cannot reasonably be questioned—Glenco, supposing its stream to be the Cona of the bard, will be regarded with the interest which belongs to classic ground. No situation that can be conceived, answers more exactly to what in Germany is termed the great nature of Ossian; and the unbeliever, while he gazes on the picturesque grandeur of this wild scene, will be apt, for the moment, to forget his scepticism, and yield to the delight of a temporary delusion.

But more recent events, of a different description, and of undoubted authenticity, will give universal interest and historical celebrity to this glen, the name of which awakes the memory of that horrible massacre, which stains the annals of the -otherwise clear and exalted period of the reign of King William. The misgovernment of the Stuart family had not affected the population of the highlands as it did their neighbours in the plains; and several of the most enterprising and best united of the highland clans, and their chiefs, retained their attachment to the exiled monarch, who, for no good reason that they could understand, had been deprived of the throne of his ancestors; an injury, according to their clanish notions, of

the most atrocious kind, and one which implied the most flagrant dereliction of duty in those who had procured his expulsion, and supported the government of another sovereign whom they regarded as an usurper. These clans were the principal materials, with which those who still adhered to the interests of the exiled monarch, endeavoured to accomplish his restoration. The people of Glenco, a branch of the clan Colla, or Macdonalds, had joined Claverhouse, and, in 1689, fought in the battle of Rinrory, or *Killicrankie*, as it has been absurdly termed, to which, although it terminated in a victory for the banished king, the death of Claverhouse gave the consequences of defeat. In July, 1691, a cessation of hostilities was proposed by Lord Braidalbane, on the part of government, which was acceded to by several of the highland chiefs and chieftains, and by Glenco amongst the rest; and in August, 1691, a proclamation was issued, offering indemnity to those engaged in the rebellion, who should come in and take the oath of allegiance to King William, before the first of January then following. Towards the close of December, Glenco went to Inverlochy, to Colonel Hill, governor of Fort William, to take the oath of allegiance. Colonel Hill informed him that he had no au-

thority to administer the oath, but gave him a letter to Sir Colin Campbell, of Ardkinlas, sheriff-depute of Argyleshire. Glenco proceeded to Inverary, but was detained by the way for a day by an officer of government, and had besides experienced considerable difficulty on his journey from the depth of snow on the ground and the stormy weather which then prevailed. Glenco was three days at Inverary before Ardkinlas could get thither, owing to the bad weather; and when Ardkinlas arrived, which was on the 6th of January, 1692, he hesitated to administer the oath because the period of the indemnity had expired. Glenco, however, begging with tears that he might be permitted to take it, and promising to bring in the whole of his people, Ardkinlas did administer it, and sent a certificate of the fact, together with Colonel Hill's letter, to Edinburgh, to be presented to the Privy Council. The certificate and letter, together with certificates relating to other persons, upon one and the same paper, were delivered to the Clerk of the Council, who, by the advice of one of the Council whom he consulted, refused to lay the certificate and letter concerning Glenco before the Privy Council, as the oath had not been taken within the limited time, and therefore

deleted that part of the paper, but so imperfectly that it might still be read.

From Secretary Stair's letters to Lord Braidalbane, and others, it appears that he entertained a passionate fondness for the policy of pacifying by the mode of extirpation. An ancient feud existed between the families of Glenco and Braidalbane, in addition to the general hostile feeling which then prevailed between the Macdonalds and Campbells; and the Glenco men were supposed to be remarkable for their plundering incursions into the low country. For these or some other less openly avowed reasons, the Glenco men were selected as proper subjects for massacre; and it was reckoned a fortunate circumstance that Glenco had not taken the oath of allegiance till a few days after the limited time had expired.

On the 11th of January, 1692, instructions were sent from the King to the military officers to proceed with fire and sword (the usual style of commissions against intercommuned rebels) against those who had not taken the benefit of the indemnity, with permission, however, to give quarter and *terms*; but, by additional instructions signed by the King, of the 16th of January (the date marked by Secretary Stair) it was commanded that they should be received

only upon mercy; and then it was added, that *if the tribe of Glenco could well be separated from the rest of the highlanders*, it would be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves. It is obvious that the only distinction, that could justly be made between the Glenco men and the highlanders who had not taken the benefit of the indemnity, was that the former stood in a much more favourable situation, their chieftain having actually taken the oath; and, although he had not taken it within the limited time, yet, that having arisen entirely from mistake, he ought, in sound justice, to have been considered as entitled to the full advantage of the indemnity. The qualifying words were introduced for the purpose, probably, of glossing over the monstrous nature of the proceeding, in case the King should examine the instructions, which it is probable he did not, as he paid little attention to the affairs of Scotland; and, having suffered business of that description to accumulate, he signed the papers in haste, without inquiry or examination. The secretary however, although aware that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance, entirely overlooked the qualifying words, or rather took it for granted that the Glenco men might be separated from the rest of the

highlanders for extirpation ; and in his letters to the military officers, with an outrageous zeal, urges the execution of the scheme in the manner and at the season best calculated to render the massacre complete. " The winter," he says, " is the only season in which we are sure " the highlanders cannot escape us, for human " constitutions cannot endure to be long out of " houses. This is the proper season to maul " them in the long cold nights, &c."

On the first of February, Campbell of Glenlyon, a captain in Argyle's regiment, to whose niece a son of the chief of Glenco was married, came to Glenco with 120 soldiers, and having stated that they came with no hostile intention, but for the purpose of quartering there for a time, they were received in the most friendly manner, and were entertained at free quarters with the kindest and most hospitable attention by the inhabitants of the glen for twelve days. Whether Glenlyon knew of the intended massacre, when he first went to quarter in Glenco, or not, he seems to have been an instrument well fitted for the execution of such a design. It was hardly possible, however, to exceed the rigour of the orders of his superior officer, Major Duncanson, who, in a letter dated the 12th of February, 1692, wrote to him from

Ballachadlish, about three or four miles from Glenco, in these terms : “ You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, the Macdonalds of Glenco, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have especial care that the old fox and his sons do upon no account escape your hands. You are to secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five o'clock in the morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I will strive to be at you with a stronger party : if I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the King's special command, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants may be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution without feud or favour, else you may expect to be treated as not true to the King or government, nor a man fit to carry a commission in the King's service, &c.”

At five o'clock in the morning of the 13th of February, 1692, parties were sent to the different villages or towns in the glen, and the massacre commenced. A Lieutenant Lindsay, with a party, called in a friendly manner at old Glenco's house, and having got in, they shot him as he was getting out of bed. In the place where

Glenlyon was quartered, nine men were first bound hand and foot, and then shot, and several others, from twenty-five to thirty-six in all, were murdered.

The rest of the inhabitants escaped to the hills, the stormy weather having prevented the reinforcement of soldiers from coming up in time; and thus the season which the secretary had calculated upon as the means of certain destruction, proved the preservation of the greater part of the tribe. Those of the country people who still remain in Glenco, or its neighbourhood, speaking from the traditions of their fathers, assert that a much greater number perished in the hills; and it is difficult to conceive how human constitutions could withstand the rigours of the climate at such a season, and in such a situation. But the circumstance is not noticed in the report of the royal commission appointed two or three years after to investigate the matter; and the tradition of the natives must be unfounded, or the commissioners must have designedly confined their inquiry to the number directly massacred by the King's troops.

Mild as the government was in its general tenor, in comparison with that which had gone before, no single act of the former reign could be mentioned equal in atrocity to this horrible

proceeding; and the Jacobites availed themselves to the utmost of this occasion to injure the government of King William in public estimation. The clamours which it excited resounded throughout Europe; exaggerated only as to the numbers massacred, the real nature of the transaction being too atrocious to admit of exaggeration. The ministry were anxious to stifle inquiry; but when, in 1695, it became necessary to call a parliament for raising supplies, and a parliamentary investigation appeared unavoidable, commissioners were appointed by the crown to inquire into the matter. The inquiry was conducted in a mode more direct and impartial than is usually adopted, where a royal commission is appointed to supersede a more open and public investigation by parliament, and as the report seems to contain, as far as it goes, a fair representation of the transaction, it is here laid before the reader.

Report of the Commission given by his Majesty, for inquiring into the slaughter of the men of Glenco, subscribed at Holyrood-house the 20th day of June, 1693.

“ John Marquis of Tweddale, lord high chancellor of Scotland, William Earl of Annan-

“ dale, John Lord Murray, Sir James Stuart his
“ Majesty’s advocate, Adam Cockburn of Or-
“ mistoun, Lord Justice clerk, Sir Archibald
“ Hope of Rankeiller, and Sir William Hamil-
“ ton of Whitelaw, two of the senators of the
“ college of justice, Sir James Ogilvy his Ma-
“ jesty’s solicitor, and Adam Drummond of
“ Meggins, commissioners appointed by his
“ Majesty, by his commission under the great
“ seal of the date the 29th of April last past,
“ to make inquiry, and to take trial and pre-
“ cognition about the slaughter of several per-
“ sons of the surname of Macdonald and others
“ in Glenco, in the year 1692, by whom and in
“ what manner, and by what pretended autho-
“ rity the same was committed, with power to
“ call for all warrants and directions given in
“ that matter ; as also to examine all persons
“ who had a hand therein, with what witnesses
“ they should find necessary, either upon oath
“ or declaration, and to report to his Ma-
“ jesty the true state of the said matter, with
“ the evidence and testimonies to be adduced
“ before them, as the said commission more
“ amply bears : having met and qualified them-
“ selves by taking the oath of allegiance and
“ assurance, conform to the act of parliament,
“ with the oath *de Fidei*, as use is in such cases,

“ did according to the power given to them,
“ chuse Mr. Alexander Monro of Beircroft to
“ be their clerk ; and he having also qualified
“ himself as above, they proceeded into the
“ said inquiry, to call for all warrants and di-
“ rections, with all such persons as witnesses,
“ that might give light in the said matter ; and
“ having considered the foresaid warrants and
“ directions produced before them, and taken
“ the oaths and depositions of the witnesses
“ undernamed, they with all submission lay the
“ report of the whole discovery made by them
“ before his Majesty in the order following.
“ And, first, of some things that preceded the
“ said slaughter. Secondly, of the matter of
“ fact, with the proofs and evidence taken,
“ when and in what manner the same was com-
“ mitted. Thirdly, of the warrants and direc-
“ tions that either really were, or were pre-
“ tended, for the committing it. And, lastly,
“ the commissioners humble opinion of the true
“ state and account of that whole business.

“ The things to be remarked preceding the
“ said slaughter, were, that it is certain that the
“ Lairds of Glenco and Auchintriaten, and their
“ followers, were in the insurrection and rebel-
“ lion made by some of the highland clans, un-
“ der the command first of the Viscount of

“ Dundee, and then of Major-general Buchan
“ in the years 1689 and 1690. This is acknow-
“ ledged by all. But when the Earl of Braid-
“ albin called the heads of the clans, and met
“ with them in Auchallader in July 1691, in
“ order to a cessation, the deceased Alexander
“ Macdonald of Glenco was there with Glen-
“ gary, Sir John Maclene and others, and agreed
“ to the cessation, as it is also acknowledged :
“ But the deceased Glenco’s two sons, who
“ were at that time with their father in the
“ town of Auchallader, depone, that they heard
“ that the Earl of Braidalbin did at that time
“ quarrel with the deceased Glenco about some
“ cows that the Earl alledged were stolen from
“ his men by Glenco’s men ; and that though
“ they were not present to hear the words, yet
“ their father told them of the challenge. And
“ the two sons, with Ronald Macdonald, in-
“ dweller in Glenco, and Ronald Macdonald in
“ Innerriggen in Glenco, do all depone, that
“ they heard the deceased Glenco say, that the
“ Earl of Braidalbin at the meeting of Auchal-
“ lader threatened to do him a mischief ; and
“ that he feared a mischief from no man so
“ much as from the Earl of Braidalbin, as their
“ depositions at the letter A in the margin
“ bears. And Alexander Macdonald, second

“ son to the deceased Glenco, doth farther de-
“ pone, that he hath often heard from his father
“ and others, that there had been in former
“ times blood betwixt Braidalbin’s family and
“ their clan, as his deposition at the same mark
“ bears. And here the commissioners cannot
“ but take notice of what hath occurred to
“ them in two letters from Secretary Stair to
“ Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, one of the 1st,
“ and another of the 3d of December, 1691,
“ wherein he expresses his resentment from the
“ marring of the bargain that should have
“ been betwixt the Earl of Braidalbin and the
“ highlanders to a very great height, charging
“ some for their despise against him, as if it
“ had been the only hindrance of that settle-
“ ment. Whence he goes on in his of the 3d
“ of December to say, that since the govern-
“ ment cannot oblige them, it is obliged to ruin
“ some of them to weaken and frighten the
“ rest, and that the Macdonalds will fall in this
“ net; and, in effect, seems even from that
“ time, which was almost a month before the
“ expiring of the King’s indemnity, to project
“ with Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton that some
“ of them should be rooted out and destroyed.
“ His Majesty’s proclamation of indemnity was
“ published in August 1691, offering a free in-

“ demnity and pardon to all the highlanders
“ who had been in arms, upon their coming in
“ and taking the oath of allegiance betwixt
“ that and the 1st of January thereafter: And
“ in compliance with the proclamation, the de-
“ ceased Glenco goes about the end of Decem-
“ ber 1691, to Colonel Hill, governor of Fort
“ William at Inverlochie, and desired the Colonel
“ to minister to him the oath of allegiance, that
“ he might have the King’s indemnity. But
“ Colonel Hill in his deposition, marked with
“ the letter B, doth farther depone, that he
“ hastened him away all he could, and gave
“ him a letter to Ardkinlas to receive him as a
“ lost sheep; and the Colonel produces Ard-
“ kinlas’s answer to that letter, dated the 9th
“ of January, 1691, hearing, that he had endea-
“ voured to receive the great lost sheep Glenco,
“ and that Glenco had undertaken to bring in
“ all his friends and followers, as the privy
“ council should order: and Ardkinlas further
“ writes, that he was sending to Edinburgh,
“ that Glenco, though he had mistaken in
“ coming to Colonel Hill to take the oath of
“ allegiance, might yet be welcome, and that
“ thereafter the Colonel should take care that
“ Glenco’s friends and followers may not suffer,
“ till the King and council’s pleasure be known,

“ as the said letter marked on the back with
“ the letter B. bears. And Glenco's two sons
“ above named do depone in the same manner,
“ that their father went about the end of De-
“ cember to Colonel Hill, to take the oath of
“ allegiance; but finding his mistake, and
“ getting the Colonel's letter to Ardkinlas, he
“ hastened to Inverary as soon as he could for the
“ bad way and weather, and did not so much as
“ go to his own house in his way to Inverary,
“ though he past within half a mile of it, as
“ both their depositions at the letter B. bears.
“ And John Macdonald, the eldest son, depones
“ farther at the same mark, that his father was
“ taken in his way by Captain Drummond at
“ Barkaldin, and detained twenty-four hours.

“ Sir Colin Campbel of Ardkinlas, sheriff-
“ deputy of Argyle, depones, that the deceased
“ Glenco came to Inverary about the begin-
“ ning of January, 1692, with a letter from
“ Colonel Hill to the effect above mentioned,
“ and was three days there before Ardkinlas
“ could get thither, because of bad weather;
“ and that Glenco said to him, that he had not
“ come sooner, because he was hindered by the
“ storm. And Ardkinlas farther depones, that
“ when he declined to give the oath of alle-
“ giance to Glenco, because the last of Decem-

“ ber, the time appointed for the taking of it,
“ was past, Glenco begged with tears that he
“ might be admitted to take it, and promised
“ to bring in all his people within a short time
“ to do the like ; and if any of them refused,
“ they should be imprisoned or sent to Flanders.
“ Upon which Ardkinlas says, he did adminis-
“ ter to him the oath of allegiance upon the 6th
“ of January, 1692, and sent a certificate thereof
“ to Edinburgh, with Colonel Hill’s letter to
“ Colin Campbel, sheriff clerk of Argyle, who
“ was then at Edinburgh ; and further wrote
“ to the said Colin that he should write back to
“ him, whether Glenco’s taking of the oath was
“ allowed by the council or not, as Ardkinlas’s
“ deposition at the letter B testifies. And the
“ said Colin, sheriff clerk, depones, that the
“ foresaid letters, and the certificate relating to
“ Glenco, with some other certificates relating
“ to some other persons all upon one paper,
“ were sent in to him to Edinburgh by Ardkin-
“ las ; which paper being produced upon oath
“ by Sir Gilbert Elliot, clerk of the secret coun-
“ cil, but rolled and scored as to Glenco’s part,
“ and his taking the oath of allegiance, yet the
“ commissioners found that it was not so delete
“ or dashed, but that it may be read that Glenco
“ did take the oath of allegiance at Inverary,

“ the 6th day of January, 1692. And the said
“ Colin Campbel depones, that it came to his
“ hand fairly written, and not dashed ; and that
“ with this certificate he had the said letter from
“ Ardkinlas (with Colonel Hill's above men-
“ tioned letter to Ardkinlas inclosed) bearing,
“ how earnest Glenco was to take the oath of
“ allegiance, and that he had taken it upon the
“ 6th of January, but that Ardkinlas was doubt-
“ ful if that the council would receive it : and
“ the sheriff clerk did produce before the com-
“ missioners the foresaid letter by colonel Hill
“ to Ardkinlas, dated at Fort William the 31st
“ day of December, 1691, and bearing, that
“ Glenco had been with him, but slipped some
“ days out of ignorance ; yet that it was good
“ to bring in a lost sheep at any time, and
“ would be an advantage to render the King's
“ government easy. And with the said sheriff
“ clerk, the Lord Aberuchil, Mr. John Camp-
“ bel, writer to the signet, and Sir Gilbert El-
“ liot, clerk to the council, do all declare, That
“ Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance, with
“ Ardkinlas's foresaid certificate, as to his part
“ of it, did come to Edinburgh, and was seen
“ by them fairly written, and not scored or
“ dashed ; but that Sir Gilbert and the other
“ clerk of the council refused to take it in, be-

“ cause done after the day appointed by the
“ proclamation. Whereupon the said Colin
“ Campbel, and Mr. John Campbel, went, as
“ they depone, to the Lord Aberuchil, then a
“ privy counsellor, and desired him to take the
“ advice of privy counsellors about it; and ac-
“ cordingly they affirm that Aberuchil said he
“ had spoke to several privy counsellors, and
“ partly to the Lord Stairs, and that it was their
“ opinion that the foresaid certificate could not
“ be received without a warrant from the King,
“ and that it would neither be safe to Ardkin-
“ las, nor profitable to Glenco, to give in the
“ certificate to the clerk of the council; and
“ this the Lord Aberuchil confirms by his depo-
“ sition, but doth not name therein the lord
“ Stair. And Colin Campbel, the sheriff clerk,
“ does farther depone, that with the knowledge
“ of the Lord Aberuchil, Mr. John Campbel,
“ and Mr. David Moncrief, clerk to the coun-
“ cil, he did by himself, or his servant, score or
“ delete the foresaid certificate, as now it stands
“ scored, as to Glenco’s taking the oath of al-
“ legiance, and that he gave it in so scored or
“ obliterate to the said Mr. David Moncrief,
“ clerk of the council, who took it in as it is
“ now produced. But it doth not appear by
“ all these depositions, that the matter was

“ brought to the council board, that the council's pleasure might be known upon it, though it seems to have been intended by Ardkinlas, who both writ himself, and sent Colonel Hill's letter for to make Glenco's excuse, and desired expressly to know the council's pleasure.

“ After that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance, as is said, he went home to his own house ; and, as his own two sons above-named depone, he not only lived there for some days quietly and securely, but called his people together, and told them he had taken the oath of allegiance, and made his peace, and therefore desired and engaged them to live peaceably under King William's government, as the depositions of the said two sons, who were present, marked with the letter E, bear.

“ These things having preceded the slaughter, which happened not to be committed until the 13th of February, 1692, six weeks after the deceased Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance at Inverary, the slaughter of the Glenco men was in this manner, viz. John and Alexander Macdonalds, sons to the deceased Glenco, depone, That Glengary's house being reduced, the forces were called

“ back to the south, and Glenlyon, a captain
“ of the Earl of Argyle’s regiment, with Lieu-
“ tenant Lindsay, Ensign Lindsay, and six
“ score soldiers, returned to Glenco about the
“ 1st of February, 1692, where, at their entry,
“ the elder brother John met them with about
“ twenty men, and demanded the reason of
“ their coming; and Lieutenant Lindsay shewed
“ him his orders for quartering there under
“ Colonel Hill’s hand, and gave assurance that
“ they were only come to quarter; whereupon
“ they were billeted in the country, and had
“ free quarters and kind entertainment, living
“ familiarly with the people until the 13th day
“ of February. And Alexander further de-
“ pones, that Glenlyon being his wife’s uncle,
“ came almost every day and took his morning
“ drink in his house; and that the very night
“ before the slaughter, Glenlyon did play at
“ cards in his own quarters with both the bro-
“ thers. And John depones, That old Glenco
“ his father had invited Glenlyon, Lieutenant
“ Lindsay, and Ensign Lindsay, to dine with
“ him upon the very day the slaughter hap-
“ pened. But on the 13th day of February,
“ being Saturday, about four or five in the
“ morning, Lieutenant Lindsay, with a party
“ of the foresaid soldiers, came to old Glenco’s

“ house, where having called in a friendly
“ manner, and got in, they shot his father dead
“ with several shots as he was rising out of his
“ bed; and the mother having got up and put
“ on her clothes, the soldiers stripped her
“ naked, and drew the rings off her fingers,
“ with their teeth; as likewise they killed one
“ man more, and wounded another grievously
“ at the same place. And this relation they
“ say they had from their mother, and is confirmed by the deposition of Archibald Macdonald indweller in Glenco; who farther
“ depones that Glenco was shot behind his
“ back with two shots, one through the head,
“ and another through the body; and two
“ more were killed with him in that place,
“ and a third wounded and left for dead. And
“ this he knows, because he came that same day
“ to Glenco’s house, and saw his dead body
“ lying before the door, with the other two
“ that were killed, and spoke with the third
“ that was wounded, whose name was Duncan
“ Don, who came there occasionally with letters from the brae of Mar.

“ The said John Macdonald, eldest son to
“ the deceased Glenco, depones, the same
“ morning that his father was killed, there
“ came soldiers to his house before day, and

“ called at his window, which gave him the
“ alarm, and made him go to Innerriggen,
“ where Glenlyon was quartered, and that he
“ found Glenlyon and his men preparing their
“ arms, which made the deponent ask the
“ cause; but Glenlyon gave him only good
“ words, and said they were to march against
“ some of Glengary’s men, and if they were
“ ill intended, would not he have told Sandy
“ and his niece? meaning the deponent’s
“ brother and his wife; which made the depo-
“ nent go home and go again to his bed, until
“ his servant, who hindered him to sleep, raised
“ him. And when he rose and went out, he
“ perceived about twenty men coming towards
“ his house, with their bayonets fixed to
“ their muskets; whereupon he fled to the
“ hill, and having Auchnaion, a little village
“ in Glenco, in view, he heard the shots
“ wherewith Auchintriaten and four more
“ were killed; and that he heard also the shots
“ at Innerriggen, where Glenlyon had caused
“ to kill nine more, as shall be hereafter
“ declared. And this is confirmed by the con-
“ curring deposition of Alexander Macdonald
“ his brother, whom a servant waked out of
“ sleep, saying, It is no time for you to be
“ sleeping, when they are killing your brother

“ at the door ; which made Alexander to flee
“ with his brother to the hill, where both of
“ them heard the foresaid shots at Auchnaion
“ and Innerriggen. And the said John, Alex-
“ ander, and Archibald Macdonald do all
“ depone, that the same morning there was one
“ serjeant Barber and a party at Auchnaion,
“ and that Auchintriaten being there in his
“ brother’s house with eight more sitting about
“ the fire, the soldiers discharged upon them
“ about eighteen shot, which killed Auchintri-
“ aten and four more ; but the other four,
“ whereof some were wounded, falling down
“ as dead, serjeant Barber laid hold on
“ Auchintriaten’s brother, one of the four, and
“ asked him if he was alive ? He answered,
“ that he was, and that he desired to die with-
“ out rather than within : Barber said, that for
“ his meat that he had eaten, he would do him
“ the favour to kill him without ; but when the
“ man was brought out, and soldiers brought
“ up to shoot him, he having his plaid loose,
“ flung it over their faces, and so escaped ; and
“ the other three broke through the back of
“ the house, and escaped : and this account
“ the deponents had from the men that es-
“ caped. And at Innerriggen, where Glenlyon
“ was quartered, the soldiers took other nine

“ men, and did bind them hand and foot, killed
“ them one by one with shot. And when
“ Glenlyon inclined to save a young man of
“ about twenty years of age, one captain
“ Drummond came and asked how he came to
“ be saved, in respect of the orders that were
“ given, and shot him dead. And another
“ young boy of about thirteen years ran to
“ Glenlyon to be saved, he was likewise shot
“ dead: and in the same town there was a
“ woman and a boy about four or five years of
“ age killed: and at Auchnaion there was also
“ a child missed, and nothing found of him but
“ the hand. There were likewise several killed
“ at other places, whereof one was an old man
“ about eighty years of age. And all this the
“ deponents say they affirm; because they heard
“ the shot, saw the dead bodies, and had an
“ account from the women that were left. And
“ Ronald Macdonald, indweller in Glenco, farther
“ depones, that he being living with his
“ father in a little town of Glenco, some of
“ Glenlyon's soldiers came to his father's house,
“ the said 13th of February in the morning,
“ and dragged his father out of his bed, and
“ knocked him down for dead at the door;
“ which the deponent seeing, made his escape,
“ and his father recovering after the soldiers

“ were gone, got into another house ; but this
“ house was shortly burnt, and his father burnt
“ in it : and the deponent came there after,
“ and gathered his father’s bones, and burnt
“ them. He also declares, that at Auchnaion,
“ where Auchintriaten was killed, he saw the
“ body of Auchintriaten and three more cast
“ out and covered with dung. And another
“ witness of the same declares, that upon the
“ same 13th of February, Glenlyon and Lieute-
“ nant Lindsay, and their soldiers, did in the
“ morning before day fall upon the people of
“ Glenco when they were secure in their beds,
“ and killed them ; and he being at Innerrig-
“ gen, fled with the first, but heard shots, and
“ had two brothers killed there, with three men
“ more and a woman, who were all buried
“ before he came back. And all these five
“ witnesses concur, that the foresaid slaughter
“ was made by Glenlyon and his soldiers, after
“ they had been quartered, and lived peaceably
“ and friendly with the Glenco men about
“ thirteen days, and that the number of those
“ whom they knew to be slain were about
“ twenty-five ; and that the soldiers after the
“ slaughter did burn the houses, barns, and
“ goods, and carried away a great spoil of
“ horse, nolt, and sheep, above a thousand.

“ And James Campbel, soldier in the castle
“ of Sterling, depones, that in January, 1692,
“ he being then a soldier in Glenlyon’s com-
“ pany, marched with the company from In-
“ verlochie to Glenco, where the company
“ was quartered, and very kindly entertained
“ for the space of fourteen days; that he
“ knew nothing of the design of killing the
“ Glenco men, till the morning that the slaugh-
“ ter was committed; at which time Glenlyon
“ and Captain Drummond’s companies were
“ drawn out in several parties, and got orders
“ from Glenlyon and their other officers to shoot
“ and kill all the cuntrymen they met with :
“ and that the deponent being one of the party
“ which was at the town where Glenlyon had
“ his quarters, did see several men drawn
“ out of their beds, and particularly he did see
“ Glenlyon’s own landlord shot by his order,
“ and a young boy of about twelve years of
“ age, who endeavoured to save himself by
“ taking hold of Glenlyon, offering to go any
“ where with him if he would spare his life, and
“ was shot dead by Captain Drummond’s order :
“ and the deponent did see about eight persons
“ killed, and several houses burnt, and women
“ flying to the hills to save their lives. And
“ lastly, Sir Colin Campbel of Aberuchil de-
“ pones, that after the slaughter, Glenlyon told

“ him that Macdonald of Innerriggen was
“ killed with the rest of the Glenco men, with
“ Col. Hill’s pass or protection in his pocket;
“ which a soldier brought and shewed to Glen-
“ lyon.

“ The testimonies above set down being
“ more than sufficient to prove a deed so noto-
“ riously known, it is only to be remarked,
“ that more witnesses of the actors themselves
“ might have been found, if Glenlyon and his
“ soldiers were not at present in Flanders with
“ Argile’s regiment. And it is farther added,
“ that Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who seems
“ by the orders and letters that shall be here-
“ after set down, to have had the particular
“ charge of this execution, did march the night
“ before the slaughter with about 400 men;
“ but the weather falling to be very bad and
“ severe, they were forced to stay by the way,
“ and did not get to Glenco against the next
“ morning, as had been concerted betwixt
“ Major Duncanson and Lieutenant-colonel Ha-
“ milton; so that the measures being broke,
“ Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton and his men
“ came not to Glenco till about eleven of the
“ clock, after the slaughter had been com-
“ mitted, which proved the preservation and
“ safety of the tribe of Glenco, since by this
“ means the far greater part of them escaped:

“ and then the Lieutenant-colonel being come
“ to Cannelochleven, appointed several parties
“ for several posts, with orders that they should
“ take no prisoners, but kill all the men that
“ came in their way. Thereafter some of the
“ Lieutenant-colonel's men marched forward in
“ the Glen, and met with Major Duncanson's
“ party, whereof a part under Glenlyon had
“ been sent by Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton to
“ quarter there some days before; and these
“ men told how they had killed Glenco and
“ about thirty-six of his men that morning, and
“ that there remained nothing to be done by
“ the Lieutenant-colonel and his men, save that
“ they burnt some houses, and killed an old
“ man by the Lieutenant-colonel's orders, and
“ brought away the spoil of the country. And
“ this in its several parts is testified by John
“ Forbes, Major in Colonel Hill's regiment,
“ Francis Farquhar and Gilbert Kennedy, both
“ Lieutenants in that regiment, who were all
“ of the Lieutenant-colonel's party, as their
“ depositions more fully bear.

“ It may also be here noticed, that some
“ days after the slaughter of the Glenco men
“ was over, there came a person from Campbel
“ of Balcalden, chamberlain, i. e. steward to the
“ E. of Braidalbin, to the deceased Glenco's
“ sons, and offered to them, if they would

“ declare under their hands, that the earl of
“ Braidalbin was free and clear of the said
“ slaughter, they might be assured of the earl’s
“ kindness for procuring their remission and
“ restitution, as was plainly deponed before the
“ commissioners.

“ It remains now to give an account of the
“ warrants, either given or pretended to be
“ given for the committing of the foresaid
“ slaughter; for clearing whereof it is to be
“ noticed, that the King having been pleased to
“ offer by proclamation an indemnity to all the
“ highland rebels, who should come in and
“ accept thereof by taking the oath of allegi-
“ ance, betwixt and the first of January, 1692,
“ after the day was elapsed, it was very proper
“ to give instructions how such of the rebels
“ as had refused his Majesty’s grace should be
“ treated; and therefore his Majesty, by his
“ instructions of the date of the 11th of Janu-
“ ary, 1692, directed to Sir Thomas Livingston,
“ and supersigned and countersigned by him-
“ self, did indeed order and authorize Sir
“ Thomas to march the troops against the
“ rebels, who had not taken the benefit of the
“ indemnity, and to destroy them by fire and
“ sword (which is the actual stile of our com-
“ missions against intercommuned rebels), but
“ with this express mitigation in the fourth

“ article, viz. ‘ That the rebels may not think
“ ‘ themselves desperate, we allow you to give
“ ‘ terms and quarters, but in this manner only,
“ ‘ that chieftains and heritors, or leaders, be
“ ‘ prisoners of war, their lives only safe, and
“ ‘ all other things in mercy, they taking the
“ ‘ oath of allegiance: and the community
“ ‘ taking the oath of allegiance, and rendering
“ ‘ their arms, and submitting to the govern-
“ ‘ ment, are to have quarters and indemnity
“ ‘ for their lives and fortunes, and to be pro-
“ ‘ tected from the soldiers,’ as the principal
“ paper of instructions produced by Sir Thomas
“ Levingston bears.

“ After these instructions there were addi-
“ tional ones given by his Majesty to Sir
“ Thomas Levingston upon the 16th of the
“ said month of January, supersigned and coun-
“ tersigned by his Majesty, and the date marked
“ by Secretary Stair’s hand, which bears orders
“ for giving of passes, and for receiving the
“ submission of certain of the rebels; wherein
“ all to be noticed to the present purpose is, that
“ therein his Majesty doth judge it much better
“ that these who took not the benefit of the
“ indemnity in due time, should be obliged to
“ render upon mercy, they still taking the oath
“ of allegiance: and then it is added, if Mac-

“ kean of Glenco and that tribe can be well
“ separated from the rest, it will be a proper
“ vindication of the public justice to extirpate
“ that set of thieves.* And of these additional
“ instructions, a principal duplicate was sent to
“ Sir Thomas Levingston, and another to
“ Colonel Hill, and were both produced; and
“ these were all the instructions given by the
“ King in this matter.

“ But Secretary Stair, who sent down these
“ instructions, as his letters produced, written
“ with his hand to sir Thomas of the same date
“ with them, testify, by a previous letter of the
“ date of the 7th of the said month of January,
“ written and subscribed by him to Sir Thomas,
“ says, You know in general that these troops
“ posted at Inverness and Inverlochie will be
“ ordered to take in the house of Innergarie,

* This Order is thus given in the Memoirs of the Massacre of Glenco :

“ WILLIAM R.

“ As for Mackean of Glenco and that tribe, if they can be
“ well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will
“ be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate
“ that set of thieves. “ W. R.”

“ This was directed to Sir Thomas Levingston and Colonel Hill. And the parliament has voted that Levingston or Hill's orders did not exceed these instructions; nor, indeed, could they, for what can exceed extirpation !”

“ and to destroy entirely the country of Loch-
 “ aber; Locheal’s lands, Kippochs, Glengaries
 “ and Glenco; and then adds, ‘I assure you
 “ ‘ your power shall be full enough, and I hope
 “ ‘ the soldiers will not trouble the government
 “ ‘ with prisoners.’* And by another letter of
 “ the 9th of the said month of January, which

* In the Memoirs of the Massacre of Glenco, is given the following Letter from Major Duncanson to Captain Campbell:

“ ‘ *Ballacholis, Feb. 12, 1692.*

“ ‘ Sir; You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels,
 “ ‘ the Mac Donalds of Glenco, and put all to the sword
 “ ‘ under seventy. You are to have especial care that the
 “ ‘ old fox and his sons do upon no account escape your
 “ ‘ hands. You are to secure all the avenues that no man
 “ ‘ escape. This you are to put in execution at five o’clock
 “ ‘ in the morning precisely, and by that time, or very
 “ ‘ shortly after it, I will strive to be at you with a stronger
 “ ‘ party; if I do not come to you at five you are not to
 “ ‘ tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the King’s special
 “ ‘ command, for the good and safety of the country, that
 “ ‘ these miscreants may be cut off, root and branch. See
 “ ‘ that this be put in execution, without feud or favour, else
 “ ‘ you may expect to be treated as not true to the King or
 “ ‘ government, nor a man fit to carry a commission in the
 “ ‘ King’s service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfill-
 “ ‘ ing hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe these with
 “ ‘ my hand.

“ ‘ ROBERT DUNCANSON.’”

“ ‘ For their Majesties service, to Captain
 “ ‘ Robert Campbell, of Glenlyon.’”

“ is likewise before the instructions, and written
“ to Sir Thomas as the former, he hath this
“ expression, That these who remain of the
“ rebels are not able to oppose, and their chief-
“ tains being all papists, it is well the venge-
“ ance falls there ; for my part I could have
“ wished the Macdonalds had not divided, and
“ I am sorry that Kippoch and Mackean of
“ Glenco are safe. And then afterwards we
“ have an account, that Locheal, Macnoughton,
“ Appin, and Glenco took the benefit of the
“ indemnity at Inverary, and Kippoch and
“ others at Inverness. But this letter of the
“ 11th of January, sent with the first instruc-
“ tions to Sir Thomas hath this expression, I
“ have no great kindness to Kippoch nor
“ Glenco, and it is well that people are in
“ mercy ; and then just now my lord Argile
“ tells me, that Glenco hath not taken the oath,
“ at which I rejoice ; it is a great work of cha-
“ rity to be exact in rooting out that damnable
“ sect, the worst of the highlands. But in his
“ letter of the 16th January, of the same date
“ with the additional instructions, though he
“ writes in the first part of the letter, The King
“ does not at all incline to receive any after
“ the diet, but on mercy ; yet he thereafter
“ adds, But for a just example of vengeance, I

“ entreat the thieving tribe of Glenco may be
“ rooted out to purpose. And to confirm his
“ order by this letter of the same date, sent with
“ the other principal duplicate, and additional in-
“ structions to Colonel Hill, after having written
“ that such as render on mercy might be saved,
“ he adds, I shall intreat you that, for a just
“ vengeance and public example, the tribe of
“ Glenco may be rooted out to purpose. The
“ earls of Argile and Braidalbin have promised
“ that they shall have no retreat in their
“ bounds, the passes to Ronoch would be
“ secured, and the hazard certified to the Laird
“ of Weems to reset them; in that case Ar-
“ gile’s detachment, with a party that may be
“ posted in island Stalker, must cut them off,
“ and the people of Appin are none of the best.
“ This last letter, with the instruction for
“ Colonel Hill, was received by Major Forbes in
“ his name at Edinburgh; and the Major de-
“ pones, that by the allowance he had from the
“ Colonel, he did unseal the packet, and found
“ therein the letter and instructions as above,
“ which he sent forward to Colonel Hill: and
“ that in the beginning of February, 1692, being
“ in his way to Fort-William, he met some
“ companies of Argile’s regiment at Bellishiel’s,
“ and was surprized to understand that they

“ were going to quarter in Glenco, but said
“ nothing till he came to Fort-William, where
“ Colonel Hill told him that Lieut.-col. Hamil-
“ ton had got orders about the affair of Glenco,
“ and that therefore the Colonel had left it to
“ Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton’s management,
“ who, he apprehends, had concerted the mat-
“ ter with Major Duncanson. And Colonel Hill
“ depones, that he understood that Lieutenant-
“ colonel Hamilton and Major Duncanson got
“ the orders about the Glenco men, which were
“ sent to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton ; that for
“ himself he liked not the business, but was
“ very grieved at it ; that the King’s instruc-
“ tions of the 16th of January, 1692, with the
“ Master of Stair’s letters of the same date,
“ were brought to him by Major Forbes, who
“ had received them, and unsealed the packet
“ at Edinburgh, as these two depositions do
“ bear.

“ Yet the execution and slaughter of the
“ Glenco men did not immediately take effect,
“ and thereafter on the 30th of the said month
“ of January, the Master of Stair doth again
“ write two letters, one to Sir Thomas Leving-
“ ston, which bears, I am glad that Glenco did
“ not come in within the time prefixed ; I hope
“ what is done there may be in earnest, since

“ the rest are not in a condition to draw toge-
“ ther to help; I think to harry (that is to
“ drive) their cattel, and burn their houses, is
“ but to render them desperate lawless men to
“ rob their neighbours, but I believe you will
“ be satisfied it were a great advantage to the
“ nation, that thieving tribe were rooted out,
“ and cut off; it must be quietly done, other-
“ wise they will make shift for both their men
“ and their cattel; Argile’s detachment lies in
“ Letrickweel to assist the garrison to do all of
“ a sudden. And the other to Colonel Hill,
“ which bears, Pray when the thing concerning
“ Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sud-
“ den, otherwise the men will shift you, and
“ better not meddle with them than not to do
“ it to purpose, to cut off that nest of robbers,
“ who have fallen in the mercy of the law, now
“ when there’s force and opportunity, whereby
“ the King’s justice will be as conspicuous and
“ useful as his clemency to others. I appre-
“ hend the storm is so great, that for some time
“ you can do little, but so soon as possible I
“ know you will be at work, for these false
“ people will do nothing but as they see you in
“ a condition to do with them.

“ Sir Thomas Levingston having got the
“ King’s instructions, with Secretary Stairs let-

“ ter of the 16th of January, and knowing by
“ a letter he had from the Master of Stair of
“ the date of the 7th of January 1692, that
“ Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton was to be the
“ man employed in the execution of the Glenco
“ men, in pursuance of the Secretary's letter,
“ he writes to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton upon
“ the 23d of the said month of January, telling
“ him, that it was judged good news that Glenco
“ had not taken the oath of allegiance within
“ the time prefixed ; and that Secretary Stair in
“ his last letter had made mention of him, and
“ then adds, ‘ For, Sir, here is a fair occasion
“ ‘ for you, to show that your garrison serves
“ ‘ for some use ; and seeing that the orders
“ ‘ are so positive from court to me not to spare
“ ‘ any of them that have not timely come in,
“ ‘ as you may see by the orders I send to your
“ ‘ Colonel, I desire you would begin with
“ ‘ Glenco, and spare nothing which belongs to
“ ‘ him ; but do not trouble the government
“ ‘ with prisoners : ’ as this letter produced by
“ Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton bears.

“ And Sir Thomas being heard upon this letter,
“ declared that at that time he was immediately
“ returned from his journey to London,
“ and that he knew nothing of any soldiers
“ being quartered in Glenco, and only meant

“ that he should be prosecuted as a rebel standing out, by fair hostility : and in this sense he made use of the same words and orders written to him by secretary Stair. Thereafter Colonel Hill gives his order to be directed to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, in these terms : ‘ Sir, you are with 400 of my regiment, and the 400 of my lord Argyle’s regiment, under the command of Major Duncanson, to march straight to Glenco, and there put in due execution the orders you have received from the Commander-in-chief. Given under my hand at Fort William, the 12th day of February, 1692.’ And this order is also produced by Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton.

“ Then the same day Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton wrote to Major Duncanson in these terms : ‘ Sir, pursuant to the Commander-in-chief and my Colonel’s orders to me, for putting in execution the service against the rebels of Glenco, wherein you with a party of Argyle’s regiment, now under your command, are to be concerned, you are therefore to order your affairs so that you be at the several posts assigned you by seven of the clock to-morrow morning being Saturday, and fall in action with them ; at which time I will endeavour to be with the party

“ ‘ from this place at the post appointed them.
 “ ‘ It will be necessary that the avenues minded
 “ ‘ by Lieutenant Campbel on the south side be
 “ ‘ secured ; that the old fox nor none of his
 “ ‘ cubs get away : the orders are, that none be
 “ ‘ spared, nor the government troubled with
 “ ‘ prisoners ;’ and the copy of this last order
 “ is produced under Lieutenant-colonel Hamil-
 “ ton’s own hand, and accordingly the slaugh-
 “ ter of Glenco and his poor people did ensue
 “ the next morning, being the 13th of Febru-
 “ ary, 1692, in the manner narrated.*

* “ The author of the Memoirs of the Massacre of Glen-
 “ co says, that he had copies of Dalrymple’s nine letters
 “ (viz. to Colonel Hamilton, two dated 1st and 3d December,
 “ 1691 ; to Sir Thomas Levingston five, dated 7th, 9th, 11th,
 “ 16th, 30th January, 1692 ; and to Colonel Hill, two dated
 “ on the same days with the last two to Levingston) which
 “ were produced respecting this massacre ; but I do not ob-
 “ serve that he states from them any new matter, unless it be
 “ the following passages :

“ ‘ The winter is the only season in which we are sure the
 “ ‘ highlanders cannot escape us, nor carry their wives, bairns,
 “ ‘ and cattle to the mountains.

“ ‘ It is the only time that they cannot escape you, for
 “ ‘ human constitutions cannot endure to be long out of
 “ ‘ houses. This is the proper season to maul them in the
 “ ‘ cold long nights.

“ ‘ I expect you will find little resistance but from the
 “ ‘ season.

“ And upon the whole matter, it is the opinion of the commission ; First, That it was a great wrong that Glenco’s care and diligence, as to his taking the oath of allegiance, with Ardkinlas’s certificate of his taking the oath of allegiance on the 6th of January 1692, and Colonel Hill’s letter to Ardkinlas, and Ardkinlas’s letter to Colin Campbel, sheriff clerk, for clearing Glenco’s diligence and innocence, were not presented to the lords of his Majesty’s privy council, when they were sent into Edinburgh in the said month of January ; and that those who advised the not presenting thereof were in the wrong, and seem to have had a malicious design against Glenco ; and that it was a further wrong that the certificate, as to Glenco’s taking the oath of allegiance, was delete and obliterate after it came to Edinburgh ; and that being so obliterate, it should neither have been presented

“ ‘ I am confident you will see there are full powers given you in very plain terms, and yet the method left very much to your own discretion.

“ ‘ Till we see what is done by the chiefs, it is not time to receive their tenants, or admitting them to take the oaths or hoping for pardon, till they give evidence that they are willing to pay their rents to you, and to take tacks for their former duties. Who will not do so, and were in the rebellion, must feel the dismal consequences of it.’ ”

“ to, or taken in, by the clerk of the council,
“ without an express warrant from the council.
“ Secondly, That it appears to have been known
“ at London, and particularly to the Master of
“ Stair, in the month of January, 1692, that
“ Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance,
“ though after the day prefixed ; for he saith in
“ his letter of the 30th of January to Sir Tho-
“ mas Levingston, as is above remarked, I am
“ glad that Glenco came not in within the time
“ prescribed. Thirdly, that there was nothing
“ in the King’s instructions to warrant the com-
“ mitting of the foresaid slaughter, even as to
“ the thing itself, and far less as to the manner
“ of it ; seeing all his instructions do plainly
“ import, that the most obstinate of the rebels
“ might be received into mercy, upon taking
“ the oath of allegiance, though the day was
“ long before elapsed, and that he ordered
“ nothing concerning Glenco and his tribe, but
“ that if they could be well separated from the
“ rest, it would be a proper vindication of the
“ public justice to extirpate that set of thieves :
“ which plainly intimates that it was his Majes-
“ ty’s mind that they could not be separated
“ from the rest of these rebels, unless they still
“ refused his mercy by continuing in arms and
“ refusing the allegiance ; and that even in that

“ case they were only to be proceeded against
“ in the way of public justice, and no other
“ way. Fourthly, That Secretary Stair’s letters,
“ especially that of the 11th of January, 1692,
“ in which he rejoices to hear that Glenco had
“ not taken the oath, and that of the 16th of
“ January, of the same date with the King’s
“ additional instructions, and that of the 30th
“ of the same month, were no ways warranted
“ by, but quite exceeded, the King’s foresaid
“ instructions; since the said letters, without
“ any insinuation of any method to be taken
“ that might well separate the Glenco men
“ from the rest, did, in place of prescribing a
“ vindication of public justice, order them to
“ be cut off and rooted out in earnest, and to
“ purpose, and that suddenly, and secretly, and
“ quietly, and all on a sudden; which are the
“ express terms of the said letters; and com-
“ paring them and the other letters with what
“ ensued, appear to have been the only warrant
“ and cause of their slaughter, which in effect
“ was a barbarous murder, perpetrated by the
“ persons deponed against. And this is yet
“ farther confirmed by two more of his letters,
“ written to Colonel Hill after the slaughter
“ committed, viz. on the 5th of March, 1692,
“ wherein, after having said that there was

“ much talk at London, that the Glenco men
“ were murdered in their beds after they had
“ taken the allegiance, he continues, For the
“ last I know nothing of it ; I am sure neither
“ you, nor any body impowered to treat or give
“ indemnity, did give Glenco the oath ; and to
“ take it from any body else after the diet elapsed, did import nothing at all ; all that I regret is, that any of the sort got away, and
“ there is a necessity to prosecute them to the
“ utmost. And another from the Hague, the
“ last of April, 1692, wherein he says, For the
“ people of Glenco, when you do your duty in
“ a thing so necessary to rid the country of
“ thieving, you need not trouble yourself to
“ take the pains to vindicate yourself by shewing all your orders, which are now put in the
“ Paris gazette ; when you do right you need
“ fear nobody ; all that can be said is, that in
“ the execution, it was neither so full nor so
“ fair as might have been. And this their humble opinion the commissioners, with all submission, return and lay before his Majesty, in
“ discharge of the foresaid commission.

“ *Sic Subscribitur*, TWEDDALE, ANANDALE
“ (now marquis of Anandale, and president of the privy council). MURRAY

“ (now duke of Athol and lord privy seal).
“ JAMES STUART (her Majesty's advocate).
“ ADAM COCKBURN (late lord treasurer de-
“ puty). W. HAMILTON (Lord Whitelaw,
“ one of the lords of the session). JAMES
“ OGILVIE (now earl of Seafeld and lord
“ high chancellor). A. DRUMMOND.

“ The Report being agreed on, and signed
“ by the commissioners, several members moved
“ in parliament on the 24th of June, that the
“ said report should be laid before the house.

“ Upon which his Majesty's high commis-
“ sioner acquainted the parliament, that the re-
“ port of the commission, for inquiring into the
“ business of Glenco, being sent to his Majesty
“ on Thursday last, he would lay the same be-
“ fore them, with the depositions of the wit-
“ nesses, and other documents relating thereto,
“ for their satisfaction and full information ;
“ and if they thought fit to make any other use
“ of it, he made no doubt it would be with that
“ deference and submission to his Majesty's
“ judgment, that becometh so loyal and zealous
“ a parliament, in vindication of the justice and
“ honour of his majesty's government.

“ Then the report from the commission, for
“ inquiring into the slaughter of the Glenco

“ men, was read, with the depositions of the
“ witnesses, the King’s instructions, and the
“ Master of Stair’s letters, for instructing the
“ said report.

“ After hearing the said report, it was voted,
“ *Nemine contradicente*, that his Majesty’s in-
“ structions of the 11th and 16th days of Ja-
“ nuary, 1692, touching the highland rebels,
“ who did not accept in due time of the benefit
“ of his indemnity, did contain a warrant for
“ mercy to all without exception, who should
“ take the oath of allegiance and come in upon
“ mercy, though the first day of January, 1692,
“ prefixed by the proclamation of indemnity,
“ was passed; and that therefore these instruc-
“ tions contained no warrant for the execution
“ of the Glenco men, made in February there-
“ after. Then the question was stated and
“ voted, if the execution of the Glenco men in
“ February, 1692, as it is represented to the par-
“ liament, be a murder or not? and carried in
“ the affirmative.

“ Moved, That since the parliament has found
“ it a murder, it may be inquired into who were
“ the occasion of it, and the persons guilty and
“ committers of it, and in what way and manner
“ they should be prosecuted. And after some
“ debate thereon, the method of the said prose-

“ cution was delayed, and resolved, That this
“ House will again take the same under consi-
“ deration, first on Monday next: and the
“ Master of Stair’s letters were ordered to be
“ put in the clerk’s hands, and any members of
“ parliament allowed an inspection thereof.

“ *June 26, 1695.* The inquiry into the per-
“ sons who were the occasion of the slaughter of
“ the Glenco men was again proponed, and
“ motioned that before any further procedure in
“ that affair, there may be an address sent to his
“ Majesty on what is already past. And after
“ some debate thereon, the question stated, pro-
“ ceed further in the inquiry before addressing
“ his Majesty, or address upon what is already
“ past without any further procedure? And
“ carried, proceed further before address.

“ Thereafter the question stated and voted, if
“ they should first proceed to consider the
“ Master of Stair’s letters, or the actors of the
“ murder of Glenco men? and carried, First to
“ consider the Master of Stair’s letters.

“ Then the Master of Stair’s letters, with the
“ King’s instructions to Sir Thomas Leving-
“ ston and Colonel Hill, and the 4th article of
“ the opinion of the commission relating to the
“ Master of Stair, was read; and after some de-
“ bate the question was stated, whether the

“ Master of Stair’s letters do exceed the King’s
“ commission, towards the killing and destroy-
“ ing the Glenco men, or not? And carried in
“ the affirmative.

“ *June 28, 1695.* The president of parlia-
“ ment represented, That there was a print dis-
“ persed, intituled, ‘ Information for the Master
“ ‘ of Stair,’ reflecting upon the commission
“ for inquiring into the slaughter of the Glenco
“ men, and arrainging a vote of parliament:
“ and therefore moved, That it may be inquired
“ who was the author of it, and that both he
“ and the said print may be censured. Mr.
“ Hugh Dalrymple, brother to the master of
“ Stair, and a member of parliament, acknow-
“ ledged himself to be the author, and gave an
“ account of his mistakes, protesting that he
“ therein intended no reflexion on the commis-
“ sion, and that the paper was written before
“ the vote past in parliament, though printed
“ and spread thereafter.

“ Resolved, That first the author and then
“ the print be censured. And Mr. Hugh was
“ ordered to ask his grace and the parliament
“ pardon; which he did, again declaring, that
“ what was offensive in that paper had happened
“ through mistake.

“ Thereafter agreed that the said print was

“ false and calumnious. And the question being
“ stated, If the print spread abroad amongst
“ the members of parliament, intituled, ‘ Infor-
“ ‘ mation for the Master of Stair,’ ought to be
“ condemned as false and calumnious, and there-
“ fore burnt, or only that the print should be so
“ marked in the minutes of parliament ; it car-
“ ried, That the print should be marked in the
“ minutes of parliament to be false and calum-
“ nious.

“ Then the parliament proceeded farther in
“ the inquiry of the slaughter of the Glenco
“ men. And in the first place, as to the orders
“ given by Sir Thomas Levingston, in two of
“ his letters directed to Lieutenant-colonel Ha-
“ milton : and the said letters being read, after
“ debate thereon it was put to the vote, proceed
“ or delay, and carried proceed.

“ Then the question was stated, Whether Sir
“ Thomas Levingston had reason to give such
“ orders as were contained in these letters, or
“ not? and was carried in the affirmative, *ne-*
“ *mine contradicente.*

“ July 8, 1695. The parliament having re-
“ sumed the inquiry into the slaughter of the
“ Glenco men, and who were the actors; and
“ in the first place about Lieutenant-colonel
“ Hamilton, and that part of the report of the

“ commission relating to him, and the orders he
“ got, and the orders he said he gave, with the
“ depositions taken before the said commission :
“ and after some debate thereon, the question
“ was stated and put to the vote ; if from what
“ appears to the parliament, Lieut.-colonel Ha-
“ milton be free from the murder of the Glenco
“ men, and whether there be ground to prose-
“ cute him for the same, or not ? and carried,
“ he was not clear, and that there was ground
“ to prosecute him.

“ Then the question was stated and voted as
“ to Major Duncanson, at present in Flanders, if
“ the King should be addressed, either to cause
“ him to be examined there about the orders
“ he received, and his knowledge of that mat-
“ ter ; or that he be ordered home to be prose-
“ cuted therefore, as his Majesty shall think fit,
“ or no ? and carried in the affirmative.

“ Then that part of the report of the com-
“ mission, as to Glenlyon, Captain Drummond,
“ Lieut. or Adjutant Lindsay, Ensign Lundy,
“ and Serjeant Barber, read with the depositions
“ of the witnesses against them ; and the ques-
“ tion stated and voted, If it appeared that the
“ said persons were the actors of the murder of
“ the Glenco men under trust ; and that his
“ Majesty be addressed to send them home to

“ be prosecuted for the same according to law,
“ or not ? And carried in the affirmative.

“ Therefore voted, If it should be remitted to
“ the committee for the security of the king-
“ dom to draw this address, or a new committee
“ elected for drawing thereof? and carried
“ remit.

“ The report from the committee for security
“ of the kingdom in favours of the Glenco
“ men, read and remitted to the said com-
“ mittee ; that there be a particular recom-
“ mendation of the petitioner's case to his Ma-
“ jesty brought in by the said committee.

“ *July* 10, 1695. The Address about the
“ slaughter of the Glenco men to be sent to
“ the King, read, with several of the Master of
“ Stair's letters to Sir Thomas Levingston and
“ Colonel Hill : and after some debate upon the
“ paragraph touching the Master of Stair, it
“ was voted, approve the paragraph as brought
“ in from the committee, or as offered with
“ amendments : it carried, approve as brought
“ in from the committee. Thereafter the whole
“ Address was put to the vote, and approved as
“ follows :

“ The Address of the Noblemen, Barons
“ and Burroughs in Parliament, humbly

“ presented to his Most Sacred Majesty
“ upon the Discovery communicate to
“ them, touching the murder of the Glen-
“ co men in February, 1692.

“ ‘ We your Majesty’s most loyal and dutiful
“ ‘ subjects, the noblemen, barons, and bur-
“ ‘ roughs, assembled in parliament, do humbly
“ ‘ represent to your Majesty that in the begin-
“ ‘ ning of this session, we thought it our duty,
“ ‘ for the more solemn and public vindication
“ ‘ of the honour and justice of the govern-
“ ‘ ment, to inquire into the barbarous slaugh-
“ ‘ ter committed in Glenco, February, 1692,
“ ‘ which hath made so much noise, both in this
“ ‘ kingdom and your Majesty’s other domi-
“ ‘ nions : but we being informed by your Ma-
“ ‘ jesty’s commissioner, that we were pre-
“ ‘ vented in this matter by a commission un-
“ ‘ der the great seal for the same purpose, we
“ ‘ did upon reading the said commission, una-
“ ‘ nimously acquiesce to your Majesty’s plea-
“ ‘ sure, and returned our humble acknowledg-
“ ‘ ments for your royal care in granting the
“ ‘ same ; and we only desired that the disco-
“ ‘ veries to be made should be communicated
“ ‘ to us, to the end that we might add our zeal
“ ‘ to your Majesty’s for prosecuting such dis-

“ ‘coveries; and that in so national a concern,
“ ‘the vindication might be also public as the
“ ‘reproach and scandal had been; and prin-
“ ‘cipally that we, for whom it was most pro-
“ ‘per, might testify to the world how clear
“ ‘your Majesty’s justice is in all this matter.

“ ‘And now your Majesty’s commissioner,
“ ‘upon our repeated instances, communicated
“ ‘to us a copy of the report transmitted by
“ ‘the commission to your Majesty, with your
“ ‘Majesty’s instructions, the Master of Stair’s
“ ‘letters, the orders given by the officers, and
“ ‘the depositions of the witnesses, relating to
“ ‘that report; and the same being read and
“ ‘compared, we could not but unanimously
“ ‘declare, that your Majesty’s instructions of
“ ‘the 7th and 16th of January 1692, touching
“ ‘the highlanders who had not accepted in
“ ‘due time of the benefit of the indemnity,
“ ‘did contain a warrant for mercy to all with-
“ ‘out exception, who should offer to take the
“ ‘oath of allegiance, and come in upon mercy;
“ ‘though the 1st of January, 1692, prefixed by
“ ‘the proclamation of indemnity was past;
“ ‘and that these instructions contain no war-
“ ‘rant for the execution of the Glenco men
“ ‘made in February thereafter. And here we
“ ‘cannot but acknowledge your Majesty’s

“ ‘ signal clemency upon this occasion, as well
“ ‘ as in the whole tract of your government
“ ‘ over us ; for had your Majesty, without new
“ ‘ offers of mercy, given positive orders for
“ ‘ the executing the law upon the highlanders,
“ ‘ that had already despised your repeated in-
“ ‘ demnities, they had but met with what they
“ ‘ justly deserved.

“ ‘ But it being your Majesty’s mind, ac-
“ ‘ cording to your usual clemency, still to offer
“ ‘ them mercy ; and the killing of the Glenco
“ ‘ men being upon that account unwarrant-
“ ‘ able, as well as the manner of doing it being
“ ‘ barbarous and inhuman, we proceeded to
“ ‘ vote the killing of them a murder, and to
“ ‘ inquire who had given occasion to it, and
“ ‘ were the actors in it.

“ ‘ We found in the first place that the Master
“ ‘ of Stair his letters had exceeded your Ma-
“ ‘ jesty’s instructions towards the killing and
“ ‘ destruction of the Glenco men : this ap-
“ ‘ peared by the comparing the instructions
“ ‘ and letters, whereof the just attested du-
“ ‘ plicates are herewith transmitted ; in which
“ ‘ letters the Glenco men are over and again
“ ‘ distinguished from the rest of the highland-
“ ‘ ers, not as the fittest subject of severity, in
“ ‘ case they continued obstinate, and made se-

“ ‘ verity necessary according to the meaning
“ ‘ of the instructions ; but as men absolutely
“ ‘ and positively ordered to be destroyed, with-
“ ‘ out any further consideration, than that of
“ ‘ their not having taken the indemnity in due
“ ‘ time ; and their not having taken it, is va-
“ ‘ lued as a happy incident, since it afforded
“ ‘ an opportunity to destroy them ; and the
“ ‘ destroying of them is urged with a great
“ ‘ deal of zeal, as a thing acceptable and of
“ ‘ public use ; and this zeal is extended even
“ ‘ to the giving of directions about the man-
“ ‘ ner of cutting them off ; from all which it
“ ‘ is plain, that though the instructions be for
“ ‘ mercy to assist all that will submit, though
“ ‘ the day of indemnity was elapsed, yet the
“ ‘ letters do exclude the Glenco men from this
“ ‘ mercy.

“ ‘ In the next place we examined the orders
“ ‘ given by Sir Thomas Levingston in this
“ ‘ matter, and were unanimously of opinion
“ ‘ that he had reason to give such orders for
“ ‘ cutting off the Glenco men, upon the sup-
“ ‘ position that they had rejected the indem-
“ ‘ nity, and without making them new offers
“ ‘ of mercy, being a thing in itself lawful,
“ ‘ which your Majesty might have ordered ;

“ ‘ but it appearing that Sir Thomas was then
“ ‘ ignorant of the peculiar circumstances of
“ ‘ the Glenco men, he might very well under-
“ ‘ stand your Majesty’s instructions in the
“ ‘ restricted sense which the Master of Stair’s
“ ‘ letters had given them, or understand the
“ ‘ master of Stair’s letters to be your Majesty’s
“ ‘ additional pleasure, as it is evident he did
“ ‘ by the orders which he gave, where any ad-
“ ‘ dition that is to be found in them to your
“ ‘ Majesty’s instructions, is given not only in
“ ‘ the master of Stair’s sense, but in his words.

“ ‘ We proceeded to examine Colonel Hill’s
“ ‘ part of the business, and were unanimous
“ ‘ that he was clear and free of the slaughter
“ ‘ of the Glenco men ; for though your Ma-
“ ‘ jesty’s instructions, and the Master of Stair’s
“ ‘ letters were sent straight from London to
“ ‘ him, as well as to Sir Thomas Levingston,
“ ‘ yet he, knowing the peculiar circumstances
“ ‘ of the Glenco men, shunned to execute
“ ‘ them, and gave no orders in the matter, till
“ ‘ such time as knowing that his Lieutenant-
“ ‘ colonel had received orders to take with him
“ ‘ 400 men of his garrison and regiment, he,
“ ‘ to save his own honour and authority, gave
“ ‘ a general order to Hamilton, his Lieutenant-

“ ‘ colonel, to take the 400 men, and to put in
“ ‘ due execution the orders which others had
“ ‘ given him.

“ ‘ Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton’s part came
“ ‘ next to be considered, and he being re-
“ ‘ quired to be present, and called, and not
“ ‘ appearing, we ordered him to be denounced,
“ ‘ and to be seized on wherever he could be
“ ‘ found ; and having considered the orders
“ ‘ that he received, and the orders which he
“ ‘ said before the commission he gave, and his
“ ‘ share in the execution, we agreed that from
“ ‘ what appeared, he was not clear of the mur-
“ ‘ der of the Glenco men, and that there was
“ ‘ ground to prosecute him for it.

“ ‘ Major Duncanson, who received orders
“ ‘ from Hamilton, being in Flanders, as well
“ ‘ as those to whom he gave orders, we could
“ ‘ not see these orders ; and therefore we only
“ ‘ resolved about him, that we should address
“ ‘ to your Majesty, either to cause him be
“ ‘ examined there in Flanders about the orders
“ ‘ he received, and his knowledge of that af-
“ ‘ fair, or to order him home to be prosecuted
“ ‘ therefore, as your Majesty shall think fit.

“ ‘ In the last place, the depositions of the
“ ‘ witnesses being clear, as to the share which
“ ‘ Capt. Campbel of Glenlyon, Capt. Drum-

“ ‘ mond, Lieutenant Lindsey, Ensign Lundie,
“ ‘ and Serjeant Barber had in the execution of
“ ‘ the Glenco men, upon whom they were
“ ‘ quartered ; we agree that it appeared that
“ ‘ the said persons were the actors in the
“ ‘ slaughter of the Glenco men under trust,
“ ‘ and that we should address your Majesty to
“ ‘ send them home to be prosecuted for the
“ ‘ same according to law.

“ ‘ This being the state of that whole matter
“ ‘ as it lies before us, and which, together with
“ ‘ the report transmitted to your Majesty by
“ ‘ the commissioner (and which we saw verified) gives full light to it ; we humbly beg
“ ‘ that, considering that the Master of Stair’s
“ ‘ excess in his letters against the Glenco
“ ‘ men has been the original cause of this unhappy business, and hath given occasion in
“ ‘ a great measure to so extraordinary an execution, by the warm directions he gives
“ ‘ about doing it by way of surprise ; and considering the high station and trust he is in,
“ ‘ and that he is absent, we do therefore beg
“ ‘ that your Majesty will give such orders
“ ‘ about him for vindication of your government, as you in your royal wisdom shall
“ ‘ think fit.

“ ‘ And likewise considering that the actors

“ ‘ have barbarously killed men under trust, we
“ ‘ humbly desire your Majesty would be pleased
“ ‘ to send the actors home, and to give orders
“ ‘ to your advocate to prosecute them according to law ; there remaining nothing else
“ ‘ to be done for the full vindication of your
“ ‘ government of so foul and scandalous an
“ ‘ aspersion as it has lain under upon this occasion.

“ ‘ We shall only add, that the remains of
“ ‘ the Glenco men, who escaped the slaughter,
“ ‘ being reduced to great poverty by the depredation and vastation that was then committed upon them, and having ever since
“ ‘ lived peaceably under your Majesty’s protection, have now applied to us that we
“ ‘ might intercede with your Majesty, that
“ ‘ some reparation may be made them for their losses. We do humbly lay their case before
“ ‘ your Majesty, as worthy of your royal charity and compassion, that such orders may
“ ‘ be given for supplying them in their necessities, as your Majesty shall think fit.

“ ‘ And this the most humble Address of the
“ ‘ estates of parliament is, by their order and
“ ‘ warrant, and in their name, subscribed by,
“ ‘ may it please your Majesty, your Majesty’s

“ ‘ most humble, most obedient, and most faith-
“ ‘ ful subject and servant,

“ ANNANDALE, P. P. .

“ ‘ *July* 10, 1695. This Address voted and
“ ‘ approved.’

“ Then it was recommended to his Majesty’s
“ commissioner, to transmit to the King the
“ said address, with duplicates of the King’s
“ instructions, and of the Master of Stair’s
“ letters.

“ Moved, That his Majesty’s commissioner
“ have the thanks of the parliament for laying
“ the discovery made of the matter of Glenco
“ before them, and that the commissioners have
“ the like for their careful procedure therein;
“ which being put to the vote, approve, or not,
“ carried in the affirmative, *nemine contradi-*
“ *cente*, which his Majesty’s commissioner ac-
“ cepted of.”

CHAP. VII.

FROM LOCH LEVEN SIDE,

	Miles.
BALLICHELISH FERRY	5
INVERLOCHY	14

Further particulars respecting the massacre of Glenco—Anecdote of the Glenco men in 1745—Loch Leven—Road from Glenco to the ferry of Ballichelish—Natural wood—Slate mountain and quarry—Argyleshire, the chief slate county of Scotland—Division of Lorn—Milk, potatoes, and herrings, the chief food of the people on the western coast—Ballichelish ferry—Division of Morven—Loch Linne—Road from Ballichelish ferry to Inverlochy—Natural wood—Herring fishing with the rod—Approach to Lochaber—Wry mouths and wry noses distinguished—Clans—Brief notice of the nature of the old Clanish system of government.

THE conduct of the King himself seems to have been questioned, in this instance, rather more directly than was strictly reconcilable

with the constitutional maxim that the king can do no wrong. It was, however, of essential importance, with reference to the conduct of the minister and officers, that it should be decided whether his Majesty's instructions contained sufficient warrant for the massacre. It was voted in the negative; but the King himself seems to have been conscious that he was not perfectly clear, and that the proceedings of the military officers did not substantially exceed the rigour of the instructions, signed by himself. Probably further proceedings might have shown, that some were concerned in the transaction, whom the state of the times rendered it impolitic to prosecute. But whatever were the motives, notwithstanding the address and earnest recommendation of parliament, no steps were ever taken to bring any of those concerned in the massacre to justice, and some of the chief actors in it were even preferred; so that the transaction must ever remain a foul and indelible stain on King William's government. This monstrous act of wholesale murder, under trust, perpetrated "all of a sudden," in the darkness and silence of night, upon the unsuspecting natives by their guests, who had for many days experienced the utmost kindness and hospitality, and received it in a manner and for a length of

time calculated to banish every idea of suspicion and distrust—rooted the aversion of the highlanders to the revolution establishment; and was one powerful cause of the subsequent rebellions, the last of which, in defiance of all probability, and ordinary calculation, appeared at one time seriously to threaten the ruin of that establishment, and the expulsion of the reigning family.

A sum of 20,000*l.* had been advanced by government to Lord Braidalbane, to distribute among the highland chiefs and chieftains, to purchase their submission; and it was said, that the project of the massacre was suggested and prompted by his Lordship, to settle the chieftain of Glenco in that manner, in order to retain his share of the money; and it was also currently reported, that when Lord Braidalbane was afterwards called upon to account for the money, he replied, “The highlands are quiet, the money “is spent, and that is the best way of accounting among friends.” Whatever might have been his Lordship’s concern with the massacre, the story seems to be unfounded as far as respects the misapplication of the money, which, according to Burnet, the general accuracy of whose information is now admitted, was honestly accounted for. A second-sighted seer is said to

have warned the old chieftain, three months before the massacre, that he would be murdered in his own house in the night-time. Predictions were in this manner hazarded, from probabilities connected with the times and circumstances; and if one in twenty happened to be right, the credit of the seer was established. The Glenco men were in the rebellion of 1745, and were on one occasion accidentally quartered near the house of the Secretary Stair's son. When the circumstance came to be adverted to, some apprehension was entertained that the men might seize the opportunity to avenge the massacre; and orders were given to remove them to another situation. The Glenco men prepared to return home; and, when asked the reason, replied that they were insulted, since they were thought capable of making an innocent man suffer for the crime of his father.

It is only when looking at the wild aspect of this glen, and observing how difficult it must have been to escape, that one feels the full force of the cool blood-thirstiness of that earnest anxiety, which appears in the Secretary's letters, to have the passes well guarded, and the work done in the depth of winter; and understands the deliberate barbarity of a transaction in which the deed, horrible as it was, came far

short of the intention. But in Glenco, the sound of harps and din of arms are now equally unheard, and the traveller, as he traverses the dreary solitude, might almost fancy that he saw the consequences of the slaughter. With the exception of some cottages at the lowest extremity of the glen, which, it is said, still belong to the representative of the old Glenco family, a substantial sheep farm-house at the point where it turns to the north, and where several persons were murdered in 1692, is the only vestige of human habitation. The sheep-farming system has done the work of extirpation more effectually than the secretary's massacre; and but slight traces now remain of the warlike tribe of this little valley, once the object of so much public concern, and ministerial apprehension.

From the lower extremity of Glenco, the road bends to the west for about five miles along the side of the arm of the sea, called Loch Leven, to the line of the great glen of Scotland, and the ferry of Ballichelish, at the point where that lake branches off from Loch Linne, penetrating inland for twelve miles, and at its eastern point almost touching the line of the general ridge of Scotland. The lake is from a mile and a half to a quarter of a mile in breadth, and is inclosed

on the south, east, and north, by high and almost perpendicular mountains, of various shapes, some of them green to the top, others terminating in bare rock and dusty streaks, having their bases in several places finely fringed with natural wood, consisting chiefly of ash, alder, birch, and hazel. The road to the ferry, passing through much wood of this description, stretches about half way between the foot of Glenco and the ferry, along the base of the celebrated slate mountain, on the sides of which are seen crowds of labourers busily employed in preparing the slates, and conveying them to the quay, and shipping them. On the west of the mountain appears the village of Ballachelish, with its long neat rows of slate-covered cottages, the habitations of the quarriers, and retailers of such commodities as are in constant demand in that situation. The crowd, the activity, noise, and bustling industry of this place, contrast agreeably with the stillness, solitude and silence of the scene behind. Argyle seems to be the chief slate county of Scotland, about five millions of slates being made annually in Easdale and its other islands, and three millions at Ballichelish and other quarries on the main land, forming nearly one half of the slate produce of the whole of the rest of Scotland. The revenue

derived by the proprietors of the Argyleshire quarries for the slates is said to be about 14,000*l.* per annum, and of this a considerable portion is brought into the division of Upper Lorn for the fine blue Ballichelish slates, for which there is a great and constant demand. The quarry is most conveniently situated for sea carriage, the waters of Loch Leven washing the side of the mountain from which a pier stretches into the lake. To the end of this pier may be lashed vessels of considerable burden, into which the slates are thrown from hand-barrows, rolled from the quarry ; so that on the same spot the article is raised from the ground, manufactured, and shipped for any quarter of the world.

In this tract, between the bases of the mountains and the lake, appear some extensive and well-cultivated level fields, on which immense quantities of potatoes are raised. A portion of this produce intended for winter consumption is housed, and the rest is usually buried in pits with earth heaped over them, which is found to secure the potatoes from the frost. This valuable plant, together with herrings and milk, constitutes the food of the west highland population during the greater part of the year ; and it is fortunately cultivated with success, not only on the low fields, but among the interstices of many

wild and bleak mountains, where no other sign of vegetation is seen, except heath and moss. In some of these situations, for instance along the sides of Loch Fine, especially about the isthmus of Tarbat, oats are brought into rotation with the potatoes. Barley, it seems, does not thrive so well, otherwise it would naturally be the crop preferred, the distilleries affording a constant demand, and a considerable price for that grain.

At the ferry of Ballichelish, on the south of the lake, there is a tolerably comfortable inn on this road, which is continued westward, in the tract of the great glen, down the side of Loch Linne, through the Argyleshire Appin, for twenty miles, to Oban and the sound of Mull, where the lake joins the Atlantic. Loch Leven is here about one eighth of a mile broad; but as the tide runs very strong, the passage is difficult except at the times of low and high water. On the north side of the lake there is also a convenient inn; and there, by the receding of the mountain boundary, a moorish plain of considerable extent is formed, commencing with a narrow point on the east, and gradually widening till it reaches Loch Linne on the west, at the point of junction with Loch Leven. On some parts of this moor, potatoes and grain are raised;

but one is surprised that so much should still remain to be done towards its improvement, considering its apparent capabilities, and the facility with which its produce might be conveyed to a distance, the sea washing the whole length of two sides of its triangular figure. In the side of one of the mountains on the north, adjoining the road to Inverlochy, is a slate quarry, which seems to have been at one time wrought to a certain extent, but which has been abandoned, probably because the slate was found to be much inferior to that of Ballichelish in its vicinity.

The road from the ferry, diverging again towards the general ridge, turns to the north-east in the line of the great glen, and stretches for thirteen or fourteen miles by the east side of Loch Linne to Inverlochy and Fort William, in the district of Lochaber and county of Inverness. On the west side of the lake, the mountains of Morven, the most north-western district of Argyle on the main land, extend north-east almost, or altogether, to Locheil, or that end of Loch Linne, which stretches nearly due west from Inverlochy. Morven is described as "a district of Argyleshire having Appin on the south and south-west, Mull on the west, and Sunart on the north, divided from them all

“ by arms of the sea. It is a peninsula of a
“ triangular shape, of from twelve to sixteen
“ miles on each side, much indented by other
“ arms of the sea, so that the whole area will
“ not exceed 120 square miles. The country,
“ although hilly, has excellent pasture, and
“ feeds about 14,000 sheep, 2500 black cattle,
“ 250 horses, besides goats and deer. The ara-
“ ble land is limited to the most sheltered
“ places by the sides of the sea and rivulets,
“ and is but poor in quality, not supplying the
“ thin population of 2000. The sea and lakes
“ are stored with herring, salmon, and other
“ fish ; and seventy tons of kelp are yearly made
“ on the shores. The rent is 2200*l.*, and the
“ Duke of Argyle is the principal proprietor.”

A little to the north-east of Ballichelish ferry is the ferry of Corran, where cattle and sheep from Morven are carried across Loch Linne to the south-east side, from which they proceed by the head of Loch Leven to the south. During the whole of the stretch from Loch Leven to Inverlochty, the breadth of Loch Linne continues uniformly at about four miles. The tide at this time was flowing very strong, and the lake had the appearance of an immense rapid river rolling its volume of waters to the north-east, between its barriers of lofty, dark, and wild mountains.

On the south-east side, however, the hills in a few places recede, leaving some open level fields which are well cultivated. Fringes of natural wood, ash, birch, hazel, and alder, occasionally line the bank of the lake and bases of the mountains; and the road, from its own excellence, and the nature of the surrounding scenery, was compared to the new road made by Bonaparte at the side of the lake of Geneva. It is in some parts cut through, the solid perpendicular rock, and in these situations a parapet or side wall would be no immaterial improvement, as the slightest variation from the course of the road towards the lake, which might readily take place in the night-time, or at any time from restiveness of horses or other causes, would precipitate the traveller from a considerable height upon the rocks below, unless he should happen to have, as he might have at certain points of the road, the less unfortunate alternative of being plunged into deep water. Several men and boys were seen on points of rock jutting out into the lake, fishing for herrings, with the rod, line, and bait; and it appears that great numbers of herrings are caught in this way, as some of these fishers were seen returning, each of them with several dozens of fine herrings. These rods, usually seen at the

herring stations, are merely rough single sticks about three yards in length, the same tapering length and nice pliancy not being, it seems, required as in rods for trout-fishing, especially with the fly.

Advancing towards Inverlochy, the traveller, leaving the extensive range over which the Campbells have spread, enters the district of Lochaber, long distinguished as the seat of two of the most compact and warlike of the highland clans, the Camerons of Locheil and Macdonalds of Keppoch, among whom the institutions and spirit of clanship prevailed in the fullest extent and vigour. The former are still a flourishing family, and in the course of the late eventful war, many proofs were given that both among the chiefs and the clan the ancient warlike habits and spirit of family union still subsisted for the most valuable purposes, notwithstanding the change of times and circumstances. It was on the occasion of the expedition of James the Fifth into the highlands, that the division of the highland population into clans is particularly noticed by the Scottish historians; but probably from a much earlier period, most of the valleys, with their appendant mountains and moors, were occupied, each by a distinct class, the descendants or supposed de-

scendants of some remarkable individual; who was considered as the founder of the family, and the father of the class which was characterized as his children, the greater part of them bearing his descriptive name, which might be one that to an inhabitant of the south would not appear very dignified, the wry mouths and wry noses being among the most distinguished clans of the highlands. These appellations, however, among the highland race, were used purely for the sake of the distinctive mark which the peculiarity afforded, and imported nothing of disrespect or levity. Each individual of the clan who bore the name considered himself, in virtue of his real or supposed descent, as a relation of the lineal or most direct descendant of the original founder, who upon that title and ground of right was the chief or chieftain, called in clanish speech, the man or head of the kindred.

When the clan became too numerous for the strath or district, or when it suited the views of the chief and members of the clan, a part of them settled in another district before unoccupied, or vacant by the expulsion of some weaker class; some near relation of the chief was placed at the head of this colony or separate portion of the family, and became the chieftain of that di-

vision. In this manner, some families or clans, by force or policy, spread themselves over several districts, while other clans or divisions of clans were almost extirpated. One chief of a powerful clan is said to have prosecuted this plan of aggrandizement with a perseverance, dexterity, and success, that might have mortified a Roman senate. By fomenting divisions among the surrounding clans, and under the pretence of assisting the weaker party, or by procuring commissions from the crown to suppress the disorders, he contrived to make himself master of the possessions of both parties ; and never considered his neighbours as in a state of peace until they were thoroughly subdued, and either brought under his own authority, or expelled from their lands.

The mountaineers, from the nature of their situation, as well as the weakness of the crown, were always, until the year 1746, in a great measure independent of the control of the general government, whose only expedient for quelling dangerous disorders was that of exciting one clan against another—being only another mode of encouraging the feuds which it was intended to suppress. The whole range of the mountains formed one immense fortress, subdivided into a multitude of smaller forts or

fortified camps, which could be successfully assailed only by a very formidable military force, and into which there was no safe access, even for the purposes of civil process. The consequence was that each clan was left almost entirely to itself with respect both to internal government and defence against external aggression. The chief was the ruler in peace—the leader in war. His power was however limited and modified by the customs and opinions of the clan, to which he was obliged to conform, in order to avoid a summary deposition. But if eminently capable as a leader, defence being the main object, the clan seem to have allowed him great latitude in other respects, provided he refrained from violating the known ancient usages of the kindred. They gave him credit for being the best judge of his own interest, as to external, and, for the most part, as to internal matters; and his interests were exactly those of the whole. The chieftain and his branch were considered, and usually acted, as a distinct clan.

As the only efficient title of the clan to its territory was the points of the clansmen's swords, every man capable of bearing arms was of necessity a soldier, and one who was bound to be always ready to march, at a very short warning, to the common rendezvous of the clan, or any

other indicated by the bearer of the *croistaridh*.^{*} For the same reason, the numbers and strength of the clan were the great object of policy, pride, and ambition of the chief; and it was the clear and direct interest of the chief, and of every member of the clan, that the territory should be peopled to the very utmost extent of its productive capabilities. The chief had no object of policy, ambition, or pride, that required a great income in money. His principal expenditure consisted in entertaining the members of his clan or occasional visitors; and for his feasts all the provision that the district could afford and his people spare were at his service. A distinguished chieftain, to a question, what was his rental, replied, "My rent is a thousand

^{*} Or *croistarich*, that is the fire-cross or signal of war. "The moment the alarm was given that danger was apprehended, a stake of wood, the one end dipped in blood (the blood of any animal), and the other burnt, as an emblem of fire and sword, was put into the hands of the person nearest to the place where the alarm was given, who immediately ran with all speed, and gave it to his nearest neighbour, whether man or woman; that person ran to the next village or cottage, (for measures had previously been so concerted, that every one knew his route,) and so on, till they went through the whole country; upon which every man instantly laid hold of his arms, &c. and met their leaders, also in arms and ready to give the necessary orders."—(Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, *voce* Croistarich.

"men." A part, or the whole of his territory was disputed ground, and the adverse claimant had the precaution to procure a crown charter of it. The chieftain disdained to hold his lands in a sheep's skin, and paid his rent with the thousand men, in a way which prevented the demand from being often made, until very recent times, when the sheep skin became a better title than the claymore.

The family therefore naturally arranged itself according to the most obvious method of forming, for a small community, the most efficient system of defence, and the arrangement naturally, in some prominent features, coincided with the elements of that system, which originated from similar circumstances in the German forests, and afterwards became a complicated plan of civil and military law over the greater part of Europe. This coincidence has led many to ascribe the origin of the clanish institutions to the introduction of the feudal system into Scotland by the statute of Malcolm the First. But necessity and obvious expediency suggested the military part, and that was engrafted on the family union, which gave its name to this state of society, and in spirit pervaded and invigorated every portion of it both civil and military. As all or most of the clan considered themselves as descendants of the original foun-

der, or ancestor of the family, and a relation of the existing chief, each man conceived that he held his possession not merely by the bounty of the chief, but also as a provision for a kinsman to which he was equitably entitled. The circumstances of the clan obviously attached the obligation of military service to the possession; but that service was conceived to be due, not merely for the possession, but also in virtue of the duty and attachment which each man owed to the chief and the rest of the clan, as relations and the head and members of the same family. The fidelity, attachment, and devotion of each individual to the chief and the service of the clan was unbounded. On the other hand, the humblest individual expected from the chief, and his own more immediate superiors, a course of conduct and courtesy of manner corresponding to the ideas of relationship and family connexion which was supposed to subsist between them; and, as the security, power, and consequence of the chief and superiors depended so directly on the clan, the expectation was seldom disappointed.

The principle of family union thus formed a bond of matchless energy, for the purposes of defence or aggression. The service of the more feudal vassal was mean, cold, and heartless, compared with the ardent and devoted obedi-

ence, attachment, and fidelity of the clansman to the head of the kindred and his fellow clansmen, with whom he found himself connected by every tie of relationship, common danger, and common interest. The peculiar notions, and even the virtues arising from this principle, and from the circumstances and local attachments of the people, appeared to their southern neighbours altogether unaccountable. Pride of ancestry, and high notions of gentility and self-importance without wealth or rank; the highest generosity and disinterestedness, united with habits of theft and robbery; and enthusiastic attachment to barren rocks and heath-covered mountains, seemed the very extremity of absurdity. No nation on earth was more ignorant of the internal economy of the mountaineers than their immediate neighbours in the plains, to whom they were known only by their plundering expeditions. The following passage, from a speech of Mr. Fletcher, of Saltoun, affords a specimen of what their lowland neighbours thought, or wished to think, of them at the time of the revolution, although there is a bitterness and evident inclination to exhibit them in the worst possible view; which, to those who consider the political circumstances of the times, and the persecution endured by that distinguished patriot, will not appear surprising. He

is speaking of the swarms of beggars with which the country was at that time overrun. “ Nor, indeed, can there be a thorough reformation in this affair so long as the one half “ of our country in extent of ground is possessed by a people who are all gentlemen, only “ because they will not work, and who in every “ thing are more contemptible than the vilest “ slaves, except that they always carry arms, “ because for the most part they live upon “ robbery. This part of the country, being an “ inexhaustible source of beggars, has always “ broke all our measures relating to them : and “ it were to be wished that the government “ would think fit to transplant that handful of “ people and their masters, who have always “ disturbed our peace, into the low country, “ and people the highlands from hence, rather “ than they should continue to be a perpetual “ occasion of mischief to us. It is in vain to “ say that, whatever people are planted in these “ mountains, they will quickly turn as savage “ and as great beggars as the present inhabitants ; for the mountains of the Alps are “ greater, more desert, and more condemned to “ snows than those of the highlands of Scotland, which are every where cut by friths and “ lakes, the richest in fishing of any in the “ world, affording great convenience for the

“ transportation of timber and other goods.
“ And yet the Alps, which have no such advantages, are inhabited every where by a civilized, industrious, honest, and peaceable people ; but they had no lords to hinder them from being civilized—to discourage industry—encourage thieving—and to keep them beggars that they might be the more dependant ; or, when they had any that oppressed them, as in that part of the mountains that belongs to the Swiss, they knocked them on the head.”

The mountaineers were unquestionably in a great proportion idle, because the only labour of which their circumstances and situation admitted, except that of military service, was the cultivation of the ground, which was easily performed by a few. From the crowded state of the population they were frequently exposed to scarcity and famine, which was an additional inducement to supply themselves from the abundance of those whom it was held lawful or meritorious to plunder. They fancied themselves gentlemen, not merely because they carried arms, but because of their family connexion with the chief and celebrated members of the clan, and in point of fact united with the most perfect respect for their superiors, an easy, agreeable, and polite familiarity of manner.

which distinguished them from the lower orders of any other people in the world. Their obedience to the chief, though certainly unbounded, was not the obedience of force, but that of opinion;—obedience flowing from the feeling and pride of family connexion, and from the firmest conviction that his conduct and measures were regulated by his views of the best interests of the clan in which each individual felt himself directly concerned.

The military energy of the clanish institution was found so formidable to the government, during the rebellion of 1745, that from that period the most anxious and constant attention has been paid to the object of opening a free communication with the highlands, and of dissolving the clanish union. Laws were made against the peculiar dress of the highlands, which had little effect either as to the dress or manners and habits of the people. But the opening a free passage for troops, and the execution of legal process, produced a decisive, though gradual result. The defence of the inheritance of the chief no longer depended on the clan, and the bond of mutual interest was broken. The chiefs and superior gentry did not find it necessary to reside on their estates, and to secure the attachment of their inferiors. They began to imbibe the notions and to adopt

the manners of the south, and then the question came to be, not how many men their land could support, but how much rent it could be made to yield. When the communication became perfectly open and the controul of the general government thoroughly established, the whole kingdom naturally arranged itself, unless where particular circumstances produced particular exceptions, in the manner of one large farm; the lower grounds, as best adapted for the purposes of raising grain, forming the arable part, and the higher regions, as less calculated for the production of corn, forming the pasture ground for the black cattle and sheep. This arrangement, being the most profitable for the proprietors, began in the usual course of affairs to be generally adopted; and the necessary consequence was, that a considerable portion of the population was expelled from their possessions.

The mass of the population, naturally less capable of estimating the alteration of circumstances, had their attention first aroused to it by its consequences; and they began to perceive, with indignant astonishment, the decay of the family feeling, and the indifference with which they were regarded, and turned out of their possessions. Looking only to a state of things which had passed away, and still possessed with the notions which belonged to another period,

they conceived that their title to the possessions, of which the occupation had been transmitted from father to son for, perhaps, many generations, and in the defence of which the blood of their fathers and relations had been shed, was little less valid than that of the proprietor to his estate, and their expulsion appeared to them to be monstrous injustice and ingratitude. Unacquainted with manufactures, or any other mode of living than such as was connected with the occupation of land, emigration to that country, where, as they were informed, land was easily procured, seemed the only alternative. But it was a hard alternative for the highlander to quit for ever the patrimonial inheritance of his clan, the scenes of his strong local attachments, and most cherished associations; and their minds still recurring to old times, they anticipated with indignant exultation the speedy attack of some hostile band to deprive the proprietor of his estate when its natural defenders should be far distant. Among the Western Isles, where the fisheries still detain a considerable portion of the population, and where the generally easy employment of sailing about for various purposes from island to island affords leisure for the song and the tale, these feelings are warmly expressed in their ordinary conversation and common songs.

" Whither gone the true chiefs who no promises broke,
" Held friends by affection, and foes by the yoke ;
" Who scorned this new meanness ; souls lofty and brave ;
" Ever mindful of friends, not to scatter, but save.
" Look now on the gentry, how changed are their ends,
" For hardship no feeling, no kindness for friends.
" No longer they think to the soil ye belong,
" But leave you to perish, nor deem it a wrong ;
" Forgetting the ties 'twixt their fathers and those,
" Whose prowess defended these lands from their foes.
" And still may the foe seize the desolate land,
" When ye are far distant, and none to withstand," &c.

Some of the ancient race, where the proprietors are willing to allow them to retain their little farms on payment of a rent as high as that which can be got from a great capitalist, make desperate efforts to provide that rent, and a common expedient is the making of smuggled whiskey, which, being a superior article, always finds a ready sale, at a high price. The landlords, however, naturally prefer tenants with commanding capitals, from whom superior improvements are expected, and the rents may be more easily collected ; and although one may feel and regret the hardships to which the old race are exposed, it is impossible to resist the conclusion, that, where the causes of depopulation are laid so deep, the effect must sooner or later, in a great measure, follow.

CHAP. VIII.

Extent and general description of the Glenmore (great glen) of Scotland—Loch Linne—Locheil—Inverlochy—Lochaber, the most south-westerly division of Inverness-shire—General description of the county of Inverness—Lochaber, its extent, and general description—Lochy river—Spean and Nevis rivers—Glen Nevis—Territory of Locheil—Fort William—Camerons, chiefs of Locheil—Lochaber, the ancient district of the Cummins, descendants of the Thanes of Lochaber—Inverlochy and Tor Castles—Inverlochy, said to have been an emporium soon after the Christian era—Present exports and imports—Wool mart—Sheep farming—Ben Nevis—View from the top of Ben Nevis—Water falls at the head of Glen Nevis—Herring fishing—Caledonian canal—Causes of the undertaking—Opinions respecting its utility.

THE Glenmore, or great Glen of Scotland, in its largest extent, stretches from Oban and the Sound of Mull, in Argyle, on the south-west, to the sutures of Cromarty on the north-east, comprehending part of the district of Lorn,

formerly the country of the Macdougals; Lochaber, the seat of the Camerons; Glengary, the country of the Macdonells; Stratherrick, and the reach to Inverness, the country of the Frasers; and Culodden, the county of the Forbeses. The valley is bounded by walls of immense mountains, and along the north-eastern half of its length the higher portion of the mountains recede, leaving above the level of the glen a flat space or terrace, which includes Stratherrick, and the moor of Culodden. The whole length of the Glenmore is about 112 English miles, and of these only twenty-four are dry land in the depth of the valley, the rest being covered by arms of the sea and fresh-water lakes. The great arm of the sea, called Loch Linne, or the firth of Lochaber, occupies the western part, stretching inland from the Atlantic, through Lorn, for thirty-two miles to Lochaber moor, where it leaves the tract of the great glen, and bends almost at right angles, under the name of Locheil, into a defile in the western wall, towards the west. The western extremity of this long lake is divided, by only a narrow isthmus, from the eastern end of another arm of the sea, penetrating inland from the sound of Mull on the north of the Morven district, of which the whole coast, except at that

point, is thus washed by the sea. The breadth of Loch Linne, while in the line of the Glenmore, from the ocean to Lochaber moor, is uniformly about four miles; and from that point to the western extremity of Locheil, its breadth is one mile and a half to two miles. The extent of the coast of this lake is about eighty-six miles, and in the stretch from the ocean to Loch Leven it is interspersed with several little islands.

About the head of Loch Linne, as distinguished from Locheil, at the base of Ben Nevis, the highest mountain in Britain, stands the town of Inverlochy, Fort William, Maryborough, or Gordonsburgh, the only one of any note in the district of Lochaber, which commences in this quarter, or somewhere between Loch Leven and Inverlochy, and forms the most south-westerly division of Inverness-shire.

Inverness-shire, the most extensive, although not the most populous county of Scotland, is bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, including Sky, and others of the Western Islands; on the east by the counties of Nairn, Murray, Banff, and Aberdeen; on the north by Ross and Cromarty; and on the south by Argyle and Perth. Its general character is rough and mountainous, the hills and wastes being, however, interspersed

with many fertile valleys, producing the finest pasture and grain crops, chiefly oats and barley, except in the vicinity of the county town, and near the coast of the Murray firth, where rich crops of wheat are also raised, and often shipped for the London market. This county was anciently a vice-royalty rather than a sheriffdom, comprehending almost the whole north of Scotland, from Banffshire on the east, and Dumbartonshire on the west. But the authority of the sovereign extended hardly beyond the vicinity of the county town, the rest of this wide division yielding obedience only to certain chiefs or heads of clans. Lochaber, which, along with the greatest part of the western portion of the division, was subject to the Lords of the Isles, seems to have at length been considered as included in no sheriffdom; "wharethrow," in the language of an act of parliament before-mentioned as having passed to remedy the inconvenience, "the people were amaisht gane wild." Some of the northern counties were separated at a very early period; and in Edward's regulations, the county of Cromarty is mentioned, and the sheriffdom stated to be hereditary in the chiefs of the Urquhart family; one of whom, in 1652, published a pedigree of the family from Adam.

The district of Lochaber, as its situation and extent are at present understood to be settled, “ comprehends all that country whose waters “ flow directly or ultimately westward by In- “ verlochy to Loch Linne, and contains a terri- “ tory, of which the utmost length from east “ to west is thirty miles, and the greatest “ breadth from south to north, twenty-four. “ Its extent is nearly 530 square miles. It “ has Badenach on the east, Glengary on the “ north and north-east, Morror, Araisaik, and “ Ardgowar on the west, and Appin and Ran- “ noch on the south. It abounds in high “ mountains, Ben Nevis, the highest in Britain, “ being there; yet its pastures feed great flocks “ of sheep, cattle, and not a few deer, which “ last find a retreat in the recesses of the high “ mountains or shelter themselves in the thick “ forests, of which there still remains a consider- “ able extent in the many sequestered glens. “ The grazings are valuable and extensive, and “ the rents amount to about 11,000*l.*, of which “ 6,000*l.* belong to the Duke of Gordon. “ The arable land is very inconsiderable, and is “ situate chiefly in haughs, which are frequently “ overflowed by the torrents.” The proportion of arable land, however, is not inferior to many other districts of the highlands; and, in the

lower parts of Glenspean and Glenroy particularly, rich crops of the best variety of barley, which ripen very early, are produced. Buchanan describes it as, compared with the general state of the highlands, a region of remarkable fertility,* abounding in corn and pasture, in shady groves and pleasant fountains and rivulets, and in the produce of its sea and fresh water fisheries hardly inferior to any part of Scotland. From the head of Loch Linne, or that part of the lake where it turns to the west, the moorish plain of Lochaber stretches in the north-easterly course for ten miles to Loch Lochy, a fresh-water lake, extending about ten miles further in the same direction. About a mile to the north-east of Loch Lochy one again reaches the general ridge in the hollow of the great glen, where the waters flow westwards to Loch Lochy, and eastwards to Loch Oich; two miles from Loch Lochy, at the foot of Glengary, being the limits of the district of Lochaber on the north and north-east. About nine miles to the north-east of Inverlochy, near the south-west end of Loch Lochy, the ground rises on the east side, a little above the level of the moor, and on this height there is a terrace or

* Lib. i. fol. 7.

plain of considerable extent, formed by the opening of the hills at the lower extremity of Glenspean, which stretches nearly due east, for about thirty miles, to the general ridge in that quarter and the district of Badenach.

On the west side of Loch Lochy, nearly opposite the end of Glenspean and a part of the terrace just mentioned, is Locharkeg, where the chief of Locheil has his principal residence, in a country which has been described as "fine, " rural, and well cultivated." It is a remarkable circumstance that a kitchen garden was established there before such a thing was known in any other part of Scotland, and the chief, in 1734, entertained a company of visitors at his seat of Auchnacary with its produce. The river Lochy, flowing from its lake towards the south-west, along the level of the moor, receives in its short course of ten miles, first the river Arkeg from the west, and the Spean from the east, and then the Nevis from the east, close to the walls of Fort William, thus carrying to Loch Linne and the sea nearly the whole waters of Lochaber from a range of 530 square miles. At the south-west end of the moor and head of Loch Linne, Glen Nevis opens from the town and fort towards the east and south-east, extending for about eight miles along the

southern base of the stupendous Nevis mountain, in the direction of the moor of Rannoch. On the opposite side of the Lochaber moor the territory of Locheil, which is said to be in Argyleshire, opens to the west and north-west, and is described as consisting “ of vast mountains “ and extensive woodlands, pastured by numerous herds of cattle, sheep, goats, red and “ fallow deer, with a small strip of arable land “ on the margin of the lake.” The territory of Locharkeg, where the chief has extensive possessions, is in Inverness-shire. At the entrance into Locheil from the moor, there is a small village, consisting of a few straw or heath-thatched cottages, resembling an old highland farm *toun*, called *Corpach*,* from its being a common halting station for those who were carrying dead bodies to Iona for interment.

The moor of Lochaber, ten miles long, in the direction of north-east and south-west, and from two to three miles broad, is still mossy and barren over a considerable portion of its surface, and affords abundance of peat fuel for the supply of the town of Inverlochy and its vicinity. But the progress of improvement has, within these few last years, been there so rapid

* *Corp*, body, carcase.

that probably in no very long time very little trace of moor will remain on the lower plain, which will be converted into wide fields of cultivated arable land, and rich pasture ground. The difference in the appearance of the improved land, as compared with that which has been left in its natural state, is very remarkable in this situation, and, generally, wherever improvement has commenced, that circumstance serves in no slight degree to ensure and accelerate its progress. It has been suggested by one who is esteemed a great authority on agricultural subjects, that “ if the legislature were “ to grant to every highland soldier or sailor “ who has been employed in his Majesty’s service, and shall be dismissed on the conclusion “ of a peace, ten guineas to assist him in building a house, and twenty guineas more for “ trenching two acres of land, on proof of the “ work being properly done, instead of giving “ any other provision to men who are able to “ work, an important public benefit would be “ obtained. A number of them would probably settle on the banks of these (Crinan and Caledonian) canals, and other suitable places, “ where they would be extremely serviceable, “ adding to the population of those districts “ where emigration has too much prevailed.

“ The landholders ought to give the land during
“ the life of the improver, free from rent, and
“ after that period, at a few shillings per acre,
“ during the lives of the immediate descend-
“ ants of the original settlers. By this means,
“ trenching would be successfully introduced
“ into the highlands, and the spade and mat-
“ tock would soon level many an acre, distin-
“ guished at present by a rough and barren
“ surface.” The project, as far as respects sol-
diers and sailors, would hardly be compatible
with the purposes of the service ; but if the en-
couragement above supposed to be required
from the landlords, were given to those whom
the modern system of management renders it
necessary to remove from their possessions, it is
very probable that many of them would gladly
accept the offer ; and the moor of Lochaber is
one of the situations in which the scheme might
be brought into operation with the best chance
of success, and with the greatest advantage. It
is said that Loch Linne once extended further to
the north-east, and that the soil, having accumu-
lated about its present head, rose above the level
of the water, and separated a portion at the end
from the main body of the lake, that this piece
of stagnant water was called the Loch, and the
district, before named Aber, came to be termed

Lochaber. It was asserted by persons resident at Inverlochy, that some part of this piece of water remained on the moor till lately, but no distinct vestige of it is now discernible. It has been conjectured upon probable grounds that the whole extent of the Glenmore which stretches from the western to the eastern sea, without a single interrupting hill, was formerly covered with salt water, and that the north of Scotland, from the sound of Mull on the west, to the Murray firth on the east, was an island. The length of the glen from Inverlochy upon Loch Linne, to Inverness upon the firth of Beauly, is only about sixty miles, of which considerably more than one half is occupied by the waters of Loch Lochy, Loch Oich, and Loch Ness. It seems not at all improbable that these lakes were separated from each other, and from the firths of Lochaber and Beauly, by accumulations, in particular places, of soil washed down by the torrents from the decaying mountains ; and if the statement respecting the separation of the Loch on Lochaber moor from Loch Linne be well founded, it affords a recent example of the general process.

The tract of the great glen was frequently the scene of foreign invasion ; and the ruins of several forts or castles still remain on the tops

of the adjacent hills, and in the level of the valley. Urquhart Castle was taken by Edward the First of England, and its defenders put to the sword. The castles of Tor and Inverlochy were at that period held by some of the then powerful family of the Cummins, who supported Edward more from jealousy of their rival Bruce, than from any attachment to the English cause. In more recent times, Fort William at Inverlochy on the west, Fort Augustus at Kilcummin in the middle, and Fort George near Cromarty on the east, were built in this line for the purpose of supporting the authority of the general government, and curbing the turbulence of the natives. The great glen was visited by the army of Cromwell, who, at the suggestion of General Monk, built a fort at Inverlochy, capable of containing a garrison of 2000 men. This fort was, after the restoration, suffered to go to decay, as it seems to have been the policy of the last Stewarts, to conciliate the highlanders, and reward their attachment to their family and cause, by refraining from any interference with the power of the chiefs, and the clanish manners and customs. This was the more flattering after the strict control to which they were subjected by the vigorous government of Cromwell. The chiefs of the Ca-

merons of Locheil, a small but very warlike clan, were, although vassals of Argyle, from the commencement of the disputes between the sovereign and subject, in the reign of Charles the First, firmly attached to the King. Bishop Guthrie relates that Mac Koldrice, as he calls him, of Lochaber, gave Montrose, when on his march eastward towards Murray, the intelligence that Argyle with all his power was following him in the rear, which induced Montrose to return, and led to the battle of Inverlochy, on the 2d of February, 1645, in which Argyle's army was defeated at the first onset, and 1500 slaughtered. The old castle of Inverlochy was then in a condition to sustain a siege, and was held out by Colonels Cockburn and Roach, who had retired into it with some of Argyle's troops, until they procured quarter for their lives and liberties. On the ruin of both the royal and parliamentary parties, the chiefs of Locheil, along with the rest of the highlands, were forced to submit to the energy of Cromwell, who had the power to support his own authority, and the will, in every point which did not interfere with his own views, to apply that authority to the purposes of good government. There were three modes of plunder practised in the highlands, to all of which the term theft was ap-

plied in the lowlands. A party of a clan, under the authority of the chief, drove a *creach* or foray from the lowlands, or from a hostile highland district : this was open war and public reprisal. Individuals, separately or in combination, plundered from the lowlands, or from hostile districts : this also was lawful plunder ; and the individual, in the old highland sense of the term, was guilty of theft only when he stole property belonging to any of his own clan, or to those entitled to his chief's protection, or with whom he was on friendly terms. The chief or chieftain sometimes maintained large gangs of plunderers, partly for the purpose of letting them loose upon hostile clans, with which he had reasons for not engaging in open war, and partly to enrich himself at the expense of his enemies, and make his power dreaded by his neighbours ; and then all plunder was lawful beyond the limits of his territory, with the exception of those who regularly paid the black mail or price of exemption ; and, if it were so stipulated, of protection from other plunderers. Sir Ewan Cameron, the chief of Locheil, had, before the protectorship of Cromwell, engaged in this last-mentioned occupation to a considerable extent, and with great success ; but when

Cromwell became protector, he sent strict orders to the commander of the garrison, whenever an act of plunder was committed, to seize the chief and hang him within twenty-four hours after, unless he produced the thief. An act of plunder having been committed, and notice being sent to the chief, he seized, it is said, the first fellow he met, and sent him to the garrison where he was hanged. The trade then declined, till the restoration, when it was renewed, and continued till the expulsion or abdication of the last of the Stewarts. As the Camerons and many of the neighbouring clans still remained attached to the interests of that family, the fort was rebuilt by King William, who called that after his own name; and the town Maryborough, from the name of his queen. Fort George, on the Murray firth, at the north-eastern extremity of the great glen, is a regular and strong fortress; but Fort Augustus in the middle, and Fort William on the west, are not now places of strength. Application, it is said, has been made to government for the buildings of these latter forts, for the purposes of the Caledonian canal; but it seems to be a considerable objection to the success of that application, that the forts are still useful as

recruiting stations, and as hospitals and places of residence for invalids, and old soldiers of the highland regiments.

Lochaber was the original patrimony of the once powerful family of the Cummins, to whose ancestor Banquo, thane of the district, the genius of Shakspeare has given a greater and a better celebrity, than he derives from ancient Scottish history; in which he is represented as having been associated with Macbeth, in the King's murder. He himself was afterwards assassinated by Macbeth; but his son Fleance escaped, and was the father of Walter Cummin, who was created first Earl of Monteith, and also first high steward of Scotland, from whom was derived the royal Stewart family. The Cummins became afterwards Earls of Buchan, Athol, and Marr, and Lords of Badenach; and, with the exception of the lords of the isles, the most powerful family in Scotland. Edward the First of England had enticed over to his cause, John the red Cummin, cousin German of Baliol, and Robert Bruce, the son of Baliol's competitor, by amusing each of them with hopes of the crown of Scotland; but upon discovering the deception, it was agreed between Bruce and Cummin, that they should abandon the English interest, and that the latter should cede his

right or pretensions in favour of Bruce, on condition that he should be put in possession of Bruce's estates in Scotland. Bruce found that the design was known to Edward; and, soon after, that the discovery had been made by Cummin, for the purpose, it is supposed, of paving his own way to the crown, by the removal of his rival, he himself pretending to Edward that he had acted in the affair only with the view of laying open Bruce's design. Cummin, when upbraided by Bruce for the treachery, obstinately denied it, although proved by his own letters; and a violent altercation having arisen, Bruce, in a paroxysm of rage, stabbed Cummin and killed him. In revenge for this act, and from hostility to a rival, rather than from any attachment to the English interests, the Cummin family supported the cause of the first and second Edward against Bruce. Kilcummin, otherwise Fort Augustus, at the south-west end of Lochness, and a few miles north-east from Glengary, the boundary of Lochaber in the tract of the great glen, still indicates by its name that it was the burial place of the representatives of the thanes of Lochaber. Inverlochy Castle, situate on the bank of the Lochy, about two miles north-east from Fort-William, was held by the Cummins in the time of Ed-

ward the First ; and Tor Castle, two miles further north-east on the banks of the same river, rebuilt by the Locheil family, in the reign of Queen Mary, is said to have been originally built or occupied as a fortress by Banquo. Inverlochy was a very large and strong building, and the greater part of the walls were standing till very lately. Within these few years, a considerable portion of the walls have been thrown down, or have fallen from decay, and probably in a short time hardly a vestige will remain of the venerable ruins of either fortress. Some traces of a fort or other building, of an oval shape, appear on a hill 400 yards in perpendicular height, in the vicinity of Inverlochy. This building (or the hill on which it stood) is called Dunardghail, and it is conjectured that it may have been an outwork to Inverlochy Castle.

It is related in the ancient history of Scotland, that King Evenus, about the beginning of the Christian era, established one emporium at Inverness, and another at Inverlochy ; and the ancient town of Inverlochy is said to have been situate near the old castle, about two miles to the north-east of the present town, which was begun by King William on the side of Loch Linne, in the immediate vicinity of his own fort.

This town is sometimes called Gordonsburgh, the Duke of Gordon being proprietor of the ground on which it stands. The town is in a flourishing condition ; and according to a statement made in 1807, one brig of 200 tons, four sloops of from twenty to forty tons, and about fifty other vessels, then belonged to the place. The want of a proper quay is still severely felt at Inverlochy ; and in stormy weather it is necessary to unmoor the vessels, and cross with them to the opposite shore, near the entrance into Lochail, and into the western end of the Caledonian Canal, where the ground at the base of a hill forms a secure natural harbour, designated by the strange name of *Camus-na-gaul*.

The principal exports by water from Inverlochy are wool and fish, especially herring, cod, ling, and salmon. The imports are salt for curing the fish, coals, and several articles required in the management of sheep, and for the ordinary consumption of the town and its vicinity. From the central situation of the place, and its convenient position for sea carriage, the town is one of the chief highland stations for the sale and delivery of wool, and the price of wool at that mart regulates the prices over an extensive portion of the country. The price of wool here and all over the highlands was

higher this season (1818), than it was ever known to have been at any former period, and the sale of that article alone generally produced sufficient to satisfy the rents of the pastures. This was ascribed to the destruction of a considerable portion of the flocks by the severity of the preceding winter, combined with some sudden large orders from abroad for coarse articles of woollen manufacture; and this latter reason may account for the circumstance which was remarked, that the price of the comparatively coarse wool of the black-faced breed, and the other breeds most commonly pastured in the highlands, bore a higher proportion than usual to the price of the fine wool of southern flocks. The country in this vicinity is from its nature adapted, and is for the most part devoted, to sheep farming; and the black-faced breed prevails to a very considerable extent. A few years before this period, at the same time of the year, several large flocks of these sheep were seen on their way from Locheil across the moor towards the south. The faces and legs were all jet black, indicating the pure Linton breed. They were driven at a rate three times as rapid as that which is usually applied in the case of other breeds; and, if this were continued, full confidence must have been placed in the su-

perior power and hardness of the animal. These flocks were said to have come from Kenloch, Moidart, and the rough country.

Ben Nevis, the highest mountain in Britain, with its base almost washed by the firth of Lochaber, has its summit elevated 4370 feet above the level of the sea, which however is little more than one fourth of the height of Mont-blanc, in Switzerland. The immense mass of the Nevis Mountain is composed of elegant red granite, in which the pale rose, the bluish and yellowish colours, are finely mixed and shaded.* From the streaks of red dust before mentioned, it seems that the mountains of Glenco, the black mountain, Bendoe, Bendouran, and other mountains in Glenurchy, and Benmore in Glendochart, consist of the same kind of stone, which is said to extend also from Ben Nevis, in a north-easterly direction, to Portsoy and Troup-head. The hollow of Glen Nevis, and the lower portion of the mountain on that, being the south or south-west side, are usually covered in summer with the richest natural grass, which is generally saved for winter consumption. The green pasture extends upwards, gradually thinning, to the middle of the mountain, and is

* Williams, Mineral Kingdom.

then succeeded by some mosses, intermixed with stones for a short way, after which nothing appears above but an immense heap of loose stones; and, in a few hollows near the summit, patches of snow, which usually continue all the year round. In one of these hollows facing the north, a little below the highest point, snow always remains for the whole year. According to Mr. Kirwan's tables, the boundary of perpetual congelation is in latitude 55° , at 4912 feet above the level of the sea; and Ben-Nevis being in latitude 57° , and 4370 feet above the level of the sea, the summit ought by this estimate to be nearly about the sphere of perpetual congelation. But snow often remains for the whole year in the cold hollows of many inferior highland mountains to the south of Ben Nevis.

There are two points of ascent at Inverlochy, one from the old Castle, or Lochy ferry, about two miles north-east of the town; another, which, although more steep and difficult, is sometimes chosen because the shortest, from the foot of Glen Nevis. A stranger in ascending from the latter point will be at first amazed at seeing stones of different sizes bounding down the steep side of the mountain, with the velocity almost of shot, and his surprise continues, till, after long and laborious climbing, he ap-

proaches near the line where vegetation ceases, and observes the first movement of these stones, loosened by the feet of the sheep, and the increasing rapidity of their subsequent descent. This inconvenience is avoided in ascending from the former point, as the climber, advancing gradually along the height of an inferior mount, reaches the principal mass above the region of vegetation. The ascent can hardly be completed in less than four or five hours, and the descent will require nearly as much time. The temptation, resulting from the exhaustion produced by the fatigue of the ascent, to recruit by drinking wine or ardent spirits, ought to be entirely resisted, or yielded to with great caution; otherwise from the natural unsteadiness of the footing, and steepness of the stony declivity, the descent will be a work of considerable danger as well as difficulty.

The spectator on the top of Ben Nevis looks down from the highest pinnacle, in the midst of a wide plain thickly studded all around with minor mountains of various sizes, shapes, and colours, their bases almost touching each other, and the narrow spaces between gradually opening, as the tapering masses contract towards their summits; the scene in some respects resembling (*parva componere magnis*) the view

from the most elevated point in the middle of a field covered with the tents of a crowded encampment. The prospect is grand and terrible, and a strong feeling of interest and elevation is experienced in the consciousness of this unusual and superior effect of the power of the eye, taking in at once such a vast extent of horizon above, and such an infinite multitude of the most impressive objects below; and in the contemplation of that Infinite Power which spread out the sky as a molten looking glass, and laid the foundations of that world of stupendous mountains. The view includes the most elevated points between the eastern and western oceans, for a long space south and north; the paps of Jura, and the hills of Cullen in Sky; Mealfuarbhony', rising 3060 feet above the level of the sea, by the side of Lochness, from the north-western wall of the great glen; Ben Lawers in Perthshire; Ben Lomond, distinguished by its green colour; and many other remarkable mountains, of which the highest points are seen far below the line of elevation on which the spectator stands. But the wild magnificence of the scene is deficient in variety and contrast. Owing to the immense bulk and wide compass of the Nevis mountain, a person on its top perceives hardly any of the objects in its imme-

diate vicinity, except vast cairns of loose stones, or masses of bare rock, being the summits of the loftiest hills; and, in the distance, the valleys, lakes, and rivers, are for the most part entirely hid, and none of them are exhibited but partially and indistinctly. The summits and higher portions of hills and mountains form the general character of the scene, so that the views from many inferior elevations are, upon the whole, much more picturesque and attractive.

On the present occasion, the top of the mountain was involved in a thick misty cloud, as it usually is from the generally moist state of the weather in the western highlands; but the writer had ascended at a previous period, when the weather was decidedly dry and clear, and the view steadily open. On the north-east face of the highest mass, there is a tremendous perpendicular precipice, said to be 1500 feet in height; and on the south-west side, at the upper end of Glen-Nevis, may be seen several remarkable water-falls, which, uniting in the hollow, form the head of the Nevis river. One of these attracted peculiar attention. The face of the mountain in that quarter, for about half a mile from the depth of the valley upwards, is almost perpendicular, with a broad and nearly level space above, into which the waters are collected

from a considerable portion of this immense mass, and then dashed, a large torrent, down the steep and rugged channel to the bottom of the valley. The furiously rapid and evanescent motion of the stream, eternally struggling and bounding among the broken rocks, and seen over such a long tract, the constantly dazzling flashes of the raging uneven surface of steaming foam, and incessant roar of so many mountain torrents, render this in some respects a more picturesque object than the heavy thundering dash of the single unbroken massy flood of the celebrated fall of Foyers. In the vicinity of this torrent, there is a remarkable cave, in which several persons were concealed after the defeat at Culloden, in 1746, and a vein of lead is said to have been discovered in the glen. The water of Nevis, in a course of eight miles, swells into a large river, which, as already mentioned, enters Loch Linne at Inverlochy.

The herring shoals come up to the innermost extremity of Loch Linne, and the boat herring fishery constitutes a principal part of the occupation of a considerable portion of the population of Inverlochy. In an essay sent to the Highland Society of Edinburgh, Mr. Headrick combats the prevalent notion that the herrings migrate to the Frozen Sea in winter, and return

to the warmer latitudes in summer. This supposed migration is directly the reverse of that which takes place in all other known animal migrations; and that circumstance, and other facts, render it highly probable that the herring migration, bearing some analogy to that of salmon, is from the salt water of the deep sea to the less salt or brackish, and shallower water of bays, friths, sea lakes, and arms of the sea, for the purpose of depositing their spawn—the higher temperature of the shallow water in summer being a powerful attraction. It is remarkable, likewise, that a distinct character of herrings is found in the several lakes, bays, and friths, as a distinct character of salmon frequents each different river. The conclusion has therefore been adopted, that herrings may probably be found at all times in the deep sea, in the vicinity of the places which they regularly frequent in summer; and the bounty has been confined to the larger vessels equipped for the deep sea fishing. The boat fishers are allowed the drawback of the salt duties, but under so many complicated precautions to guard against smuggling, that smugglers reap all the benefit; while to the *bona-fide* herring curer, the delay and trouble counterbalance the advantage so far as totally to discourage the application for it. To remedy

the inconvenience, a plan of this description has been proposed—that government warehouses of salt, well stored with that article, should be kept at all the fishing stations ; that no salt should be delivered to those who apply for it, but upon paying down the whole price, duty included ; that at the end of the fishing the salt unused should be allowed to be returned, and the same price repaid that had originally been paid for it ; that a deduction of the salt duty should be allowed on every barrel of cured herrings produced ; and that all the barrels on which a deduction was claimed should be produced at the same time, to prevent the fraud of taking out the stave of a barrel which had been branded with the inspector's mark, replacing it with a new one, and presenting it again as a different barrel. It would be an improvement that the whole bounty should be on the barrels, and none on the tonnage, that the encouragement might be given with certainty to the execution, and not to the mere show of engaging in the business. The smuggling of salt would thus be prevented ; a host of excise officers might be dispensed with, and considerable facility afforded to the fishers who had sufficient capital. But multitudes of boat fishers and curers would be excluded by this plan, or only employed as

mere fishers, by the capitalists; and it may be doubted whether it is not a decisive objection to any scheme, that it so far interferes with the freedom of fishing.

CALEDONIAN CANAL.

The valley of the great glen, by the obvious facilities which it presented for the formation of an inland canal, was so far pointed out by nature for an undertaking of that description. But a canal, however useful in a fertile populous and manufacturing district, could offer no advantages to the proprietors and occupiers of wild mountains and wide wastes, surrounding the few rich vales of this vicinity, sufficient to compensate the expense of its construction; and the benefits which might result from it to mercantile and manufacturing interests in distant situations appeared too problematical to attract the capital of individual speculators. Under these circumstances, the project was, from various quarters and from different motives, loudly recommended to the attention of government, with extravagantly exaggerated representations of the advantages with which it would

be attended to the highlands of Scotland in particular, and to the nation in general. The executive government, swayed probably by the same considerations which led to the grant of public money for the construction of roads and bridges in the highlands, and partly by the expected beneficial consequences to the commerce and manufactures of the country, was at length persuaded to listen to the design, and to take some steps towards carrying it into effect. In or about the years 1802 or 1803, some mercantile and seafaring people, at the naval stations of Leith, Aberdeen, and Peterhead, on the east, and Greenock, Dublin, Liverpool, and Bristol, on the west, were consulted respecting the navigation of the Pentland firth, and the practicability and utility of establishing an inland navigation from sea to sea by the proposed canal. As to the dangers of the Pentland firth, and the advantage of a safer course, there could hardly be a question; and it was agreed that a canal in this line, if large and easily navigable, would be very useful, especially in the winter season, and in time of war. But as to the possibility of establishing a more secure navigation through the great glen, there was a considerable difference of opinion; some of these opinions however, whether for or against the scheme, being of no

very great weight, either from want in those who gave them of experience in general navigation, or of acquaintance with the localities of this particular situation.

The next step was to have the facilities and difficulties of the work, and the nature of the navigation, ascertained by a particular examination of the whole line of the proposed canal, and this was done by the civil engineers, Messrs. Jessopp and Telford, with the assistance, it is understood, of Mr. Downie, a ship master from Aberdeen, and Mr. Gwynne, master of the government galley at Fort Augustus. On the north-east of the line, the Murray firth stretches inland for about twenty miles from Cromarty to Inverness and the loch of Beauly, and on the south-west of it, Loch Linne occupies the valley for thirty-two miles, from the sound of Mull to Inverlochy. Of the 112 miles in this tract, between the Atlantic and German Oceans, fifty-two are thus covered by these arms of the sea, and thus far a navigable canal was formed in this line by nature. It was thought, upon survey, most convenient that the cut of the canal should join the Murray firth at the village of Clach-na-hary, near Inverness, where the head of that firth, called the loch, or firth of Beauly, diverges from the line of the great glen towards

the north-west, and that it should join Loch Linne, or the firth of Lochaber, at the village of Corpach, where the head of that firth, called Lochail, diverges from the glen likewise towards the north-west. The towns of Inverness and Inverlochy are situate on the south-eastern side of the great glen, where the rivers Ness and Lochy enter their respective firths, and the villages and points of junction are almost directly opposite on the north-west side ; the breadth of the level of the valley being however, at Inverness, only about a mile, while at Inverlochy it is from two to three miles, as already mentioned. The bottom of the loch of Beaully was found to be blue clay, or mud, arising from the decomposition of parts of the neighbouring mountains, and at 350 yards from the high water mark, it is fifty-four deep. Below this is the white clay, which forms the base of the hill* at Clach-na-hary. This is the situation of the sea loch at the east end of the canal. From this point south-west to Loch Ness, the general description of the ground is loose sandy gravel above, with clay or hard sandy gravel, water tight, below. This loose sandy gravel occurs particularly at the small loch of Doughfour,

* Craig Phadruie, noted for the vestiges of a vitrified fort on its top.

which is formed by the spreading out of the river a little to the north-east of Loch Ness. But the gravel over almost the whole of this part of the line is mixed with earth, sufficient to exclude water. Between Loch Ness and Loch Oich, the ground is sandy or red loam above, and strong earthy gravel below. The summit, or most elevated part of the valley, between Loch Oich and Loch Lochy, is loam and gravel above, and hard indurated sand below; and from Loch Lochy to Loch Linne, the ground of Lochaber moor is moss or clayey sand above, and strong hard gravel below. In one or two places it was found to be necessary to cut into solid rock below, and that it would be difficult to deal with the loose sand and gravel, so as to make that part of the ground fit for the purpose. But upon the whole, the state of the ground presented no insurmountable obstacle to the work.

The next step was, to examine the state and situation of the fresh water lakes, and ascertain how far they were adapted for the intended navigation. The largest of these is Loch Ness, which is twenty-two miles long, and from one mile to two and a half miles broad; and in the middle, from 60 to 135 fathoms deep. On each side rises a wall of lofty rugged mountains, irregularly cut into deep gullies, with tremen-

dous precipices, and raging torrents. In the western wall, there are two openings, glen Urquhart on the north-east, and Glenmorriston at the south-west end. In the eastern wall, there are no considerable openings; but the hill of Foyers, near the celebrated water-fall, about eight miles from the north-east end, sends out a large promontory into the lake. From the nature of this situation, apprehensions were reasonably enough entertained, that the bottom of the lake at the sides was rocky, that there was no good anchoring ground, that the lake was subject to furious squalls from the gullies at the sides, and to violent agitations, and that vessels would therefore always be in imminent danger of being dashed to pieces against the rocks; or that the course of the winds would be almost invariably from north-east or south-west, and that vessels, even although they might escape shipwreck, would be frequently wind-bound for a month or more at a time, in these lakes; and that the dangers and inconveniences would on the whole be as great and as many as those of the Pentland firth. It was also objected, that the navigation of the canal might be often interrupted in winter by frost and snow. Upon examination, it appeared, that except in a very few places, where the rocks rose perpendicularly

from the sides of the lake, the bottom was muddy and soft, to the edge of the water, so that a vessel, even if driven ashore, might be easily got off, and was secure from shipwreck, except in very extraordinary cases. The mud is deep, and of a dark brown colour when wet, being the soil of the neighbouring mountains, washed down for ages by innumerable torrents. The apprehensions from squalls and the waves were considered as chimerical by Mr. Downie, who was of opinion that they must have arisen from the notions and representations of those who had not traversed the ocean for a time sufficient to experience much bad weather. From the nature of the place, the wind seldom blew across; and violent side squalls could prevail only in the very worst weather, when no ship would venture from her moorings; and even if a vessel were caught in these squalls, there was much less danger, with the usual precautions, than from squalls at sea, as from the interruption of the wind by the opposite mountains, the squalls were in a great measure spent when they reached the other side. Squalls could besides never prevail, except with leading winds, and were not nearly so dangerous as if ships would have to turn against them. As to the waves, they were not so great as they sometimes were

in the Murray firth, and even in Cromarty harbour, and hardly so large as to give a perceptible motion to a vessel of 300 tons. The bottom of the lake was a level valley, with a gentle rise towards the sides of the hills, close to which it rose very rapidly, except at the ends. Even in the bays, the lake, at seventy fathoms in from the sides, was twenty fathoms deep.

From this great depth of the lake, the general difficulty of anchoring was admitted, but the inconvenience might easily be prevented by means of mooring chains; and there were six good anchoring places on the north, and four on the south. From the statement of Mr. Gwyne, who had, for thirty-six years, commanded galleys of thirty-seven tons, for carrying stores from the north-east to the south-west end of Loch Ness for the garrison of Fort Augustus, and from a journal of the weather in this quarter kept for several years, it appeared that from March to the end of September, the winds were commonly easterly, and during the rest of the year westerly, but by no means invariable, and that the longest period during which the wind blew from the same direction, was fourteen successive days. Besides, vessels could very well beat up against the wind, so that the fears of very long detention were unfounded. The lake

never froze, and the snow never lay deep in the valley.

Loch Oich, four miles long, was found to be in one place twenty-six fathoms deep, but in other places shallow. It is at some points too narrow for ships to sail through, except with a fair wind, and it was proposed that it should be deepened, and widened like the land cut. The bottom is soft mud, and good anchoring ground. Loch Lochy, the south-western lake, about ten miles long, and one mile broad, is from seven to sixty-eight fathoms deep, and in one place seventy-six fathoms. The shallowest parts are at the ends; and in Arkeig Bay at the south-west and there is excellent anchoring ground, and at the north-east end there is a good natural harbour. Except at the ends, the lake is deep to the sides, the bottom being nearly level, and mooring chains would there also be required. The situation and the navigation are of the same nature and description as in the case of Loch Ness.

The decided opinion of those who examined the place, therefore, was, that the navigation of the lakes was not only practicable, but easy; and the opinion seems clearly borne out by the facts and circumstances. But an anxious desire on the part of surveyors, to encourage a fa-

vourite undertaking, may, without any deliberate intention in them to mislead, give a fallacious colouring even to representations of some facts; and doubts might still have been reasonably entertained, if the opinion had not been in a great measure, if not completely, confirmed by experiment. In the course of seventy-six years previous to 1803, five or six Fort Augustus store galleys, of thirty-seven tons, had been navigated at all times of the year on Loch Ness till worn out, none of them having ever lost either mast or boom, or been driven ashore by stress of weather. Squalls had been experienced, but they were always seen in time, and nothing was done but lowering the top-sails, which were hoisted again when the squall had passed, without stopping the vessel's way. In calms and light winds the vessel was sometimes on shore from missing stays, but was easily got off again. The galley usually beat up against the wind from one end of Loch Ness to the other, in twenty-four or from that to thirty-six hours, and no doubt was entertained but a large vessel would beat to windward in three days at worst with the precaution of anchoring or mooring at night. It would, besides, have readily occurred to any one who had observed these places, that the navigation of Loch Linne, especially of the portion of it called Locheil,

was of the same nature as that of the fresh water lakes, and that the experiment had been made in that way, Lochail and the rest of Loch Linne having been always navigated.

The practicability of making the canal, and navigating the lakes, being then supposed, the next question was whether its revenue and advantages would be equal to the expense, which was estimated at 500,000*l*. The estimate of expected returns from the canal, was, as usually happens in such cases, very high. All the trade now carried on round the northern extremity of the island, amounting according to official returns, import and export, to more than two millions sterling, was to pass through the canal, together with the additional trade that was to be produced by the greater security. The account was stated thus :

Ships, to pass through canal. . 1527

Tonage 291,000

Value. . £2,500,000

Expense of making canal. . . . £500,000

Expense for seventy-

two men working

at locks, gates, &c. £15,000

Interest on estimate £25,000

£40,000

Admitting that one third less tonage will pass through the canal, there remains 194,000; and two-pence per ton, per mile, upon this, making ten shillings for sixty miles, will produce a revenue of 97,000*l.* amounting to more than double the interest and expenses. It seems that the faith in this statement was not very strong; otherwise the canal, besides its public utility, would have been considered a most profitable speculation by a private company.

Besides the additional security to the trade now carried on round the northern extremity of the island, and the revenue which it was expected to produce, several other advantages, local and general, were mentioned as likely to result from the proposed canal. Many thousands of acres along the banks of the canal, at present lying waste, were to be brought into cultivation; the pines of Glenmoriston, the oak, fir, and birch forests of Glengary, and the large pine forest of Loch Arkeig would find easy access to the market, and planting would be encouraged over the mountains, moors, and valleys, in the vicinity of the great glen; lime is found along the whole line, and stone marl in some parts of it; and the lime and slate quarries would be wrought with more advantage, and to a much greater extent; and the lime shells from the west-

ern shores would easily be brought to manure the fine arable fields of the eastern coast ; the industry and capital of the eastern coast would be made to bear with more facility upon the fisheries of the western lakes, especially the herring, cod, and ling fisheries, where the field of action was inexhaustible ; indications of minerals, such as iron, manganese, copper, lead, molybdena, &c. were said to have been discovered in the vicinity ; and the facility of carriage by the canal would encourage the search for and working of mines ; manufactories would be established on its banks in all those articles, of which wool and flax constituted the chief raw materials, as the raw material might be had on the spot ; and the canal, by facilitating the carriage of provisions and fuel, would ensure cheapness of living and labour, and the ready conveyance to market of the manufactured commodities : and lastly it was said, that “ When the
“ Caledonian Canal shall be finished, not only
“ will the dangerous navigation of the Pentland
“ firth and Western Isles be avoided, but we
“ may hope that, by the introduction of commerce and manufactures, the industry of the
“ highlanders will be awakened, their happiness
“ increased, and a stop for ever put to the evils
“ of emigration.”

These expected advantages are certainly estimated at the highest and most sanguine rate, but there does appear a reasonable ground of hope that most of them will be realized in some degree, especially since the invention of navigation by steam, even although some difficulties should occur, which now are not probable, in the navigation of the canal in the usual manner. But the expectation that emigration will be prevented, or in any material degree diminished appears to be entirely unfounded. It was argued in favour of the project, in and before 1803, that the work would afford employment at home, to the people of the vicinity, who would otherwise emigrate; and it is singular that this argument should have been insisted upon, chiefly, by those who might have been well acquainted with the habits and disposition of the ancient race, whose notions of living and labour were all connected with the occupation of land, and with whom, when separated from their native soil, the hope of land formed the great inducement to emigration. Some of them do still remain in the highlands as shepherds, a congenial employment, and in the highlands or lowlands, as day labourers, partly from a disinclination to quit their native soil, partly from want of means to emigrate, and particularly from the

acquisition of more accurate notions of the difficulties attending the clearing of land in America, and the formation of new settlements ; and likewise of the treachery to which those who emigrated without capital were exposed, both in their transportation and subsequent condition. But the canal work, ever since its commencement, has been performed chiefly by labourers from Ireland and the low country, few comparatively of the natives having engaged in it at any time of the year, and scarcely any of them for the whole year ; and there is no probable ground for the belief that the canal has in its progress prevented, or will, in its results, in any material degree prevent emigration.

It was determined, however, from whatever motives, to carry the scheme of this canal into execution at the public expense : and the dimensions fixed upon were 20 feet deep, 50 feet wide at bottom, and 110 at top, the locks to be 20 feet deep, 170 feet long, and 40 feet broad, so that frigates of 32 guns and merchant ships of 1000 tons burden might pass through it. The estimated expense was 500,000*l.* and the time within which the canal was to be completed seven years. The work commenced in 1803, and is still in progress after an expenditure upon it of nearly 800,000*l.* It was not expected in

the vicinity of the canal, that it would be finished before 1821 or 1822, so that the time will be little short of 20 years, and the expense probably not much under a million. At this period (October 1818) the workmen were employed in finishing the last loch in the western district, but much remained to be done in the middle district, particularly in deepening Loch Oich. In some places, new channels were opened for the rivers Ness, Oich, and Lochy, and portions of the old channels taken for the cut of the canal. Considerable difficulties were experienced in the eastern district, at the sandy hills of Torrivane, and Torrimor, and at the loch of Duffour; but the canal has been finished, and the passage is now open from Inverness to Kilcummin, at the south-western end of Lochness, which is about one half of the course; and according to the report at Inverlochy, a great number of vessels had consequently entered Loch Ness, and navigated it in all quarters, so that the opinion of the general facility of navigating these lakes, has been so far confirmed.

This work was carried on, and large sums were expended upon it, during a long period of national difficulty; and yet it can hardly be at present asserted, upon any rational grounds of confidence, that the profitable use and advan-

tages of the undertaking will be fully proportionate to the expense which it has occasioned, although they may by possibility turn out to be much more than adequate. But if on the one hand a disposition exists to overrate, there seems on the other hand an evident inclination to depreciate; and it appears rather singular that objections to the grants for this undertaking should be urged more strongly at a time when the work is so nearly finished that it would be absurd to stop short, than they were at an early period of its progress, when the saving would have been considerable, and when, if the public finances were not more embarrassed, the prospects of the country were much less bright. The objections seem to be founded chiefly on the dangers of the navigation, although the opinion of its general security rested from the beginning, not merely upon observation, but in some degree upon actual experiment; and that opinion has been, since the partial opening of the canal, still further confirmed. Supposing the navigation to be secure, it may be confidently concluded that great advantages will result from this undertaking in a commercial view; and if ever the condition of the country, with respect to its foreign relations, should be such as to make it expedient to esta-

blish naval depots at the fine roadsteads, or natural harbours of Oban and Tobermorie on the west, and Cromarty on the east, the canal will essentially contribute to the efficiency of the naval service ; especially if frigates, or ships of a larger class than frigates of thirty-two guns, when lightened by taking out their guns and stores, may pass through, and be supplied and armed at the other extremity of the line. But even if the lakes could be navigated only by steam vessels, it will still be impossible to say with reason that the work is entirely useless. In any view of the matter, it would be inexpedient now to discontinue the operation, when it has been brought so near its completion, and this probably is the opinion even of those who state objections to these grants ; although they justly consider it a most important part of their duty rigidly to examine every item, and insist upon the strictest economy in the expenditure of public money.

CHAP. IX.

FROM INVERLOCHY,

	Miles.
KEPPOCH.....	13
LOCH LAGGAN (east end) .	20
DALWHINNIE	14

New road from Inverlochy, through Glenspean to Badenach—Lochaber, the focus of the rebellion in 1745—Chief of Locheil in 1745—Mists—Glenspean—Glenroy—Keppoch—Origin of the Keppoch family—The chieftain's title to his territory—Battle at Keppoch between the people of Glenspean and the Mackintoshes—Chieftain of Keppoch in 1745, killed at Culloden—Murder of the Keppochs—The bard's revenge—Particulars respecting John Lom, the bard—General life of the latter bards—Parallel roads in Glenspean, in the hills behind Letter Findley, and in Glenroy—Road from Keppoch along the bank of the Spean—Roman Catholics—Upper part of Glenspean—Cascade—Loch Laggan—Natural wood—General ridge of Scotland—Descent on the east side—Badenach, the south-easterly division of Inverness—General description of it—Road to Dalwhinnie—Sir John Cope.

TILL very lately there was no road for carriages of any description, through Lochaber to

Badenach, except the road from Inverlochy, stretching north-east to Kilcummin (Fort Augustus) in the tract of the great glen, and from thence south-east over the long and steep mountain of Corriarrak to Garvimore, at the northern head of Badenach; and such travellers on horseback and on foot as were well acquainted with the country, and not particular about inns and stages, were accustomed to proceed north-east to Badenach, by a rough path, through Glenroy, and then over a long hill nearly in a straight line from Inverlochy to Garvimore. But an excellent parliamentary road, begun several years ago, is now finished from Inverlochy almost directly eastwards, rather inclining towards the north, through Glenspean, by the side of Loch Laggan to Dalwhinnie, at the southern head of Badenach. This fine broad way, both for the skill with which the level has been drawn, and the attention with which the work has been executed, seems to be a perfect model of road-making. In a stretch of about thirty-five or thirty-seven miles, which is the length of the road from Inverlochy to the point where it joins the Badenach road between Garvimore and Dalwhinnie, the greater portion of the line is almost an exact level, and in no part of it is there a pull of any consequence, a most

remarkable circumstance in so long a tract from west to east, among stupendous mountains, across the general ridge of Scotland. The stages upon this road have not as yet been fixed; but it seems probable that one inn will be established at Keppoch, about thirteen miles from Inverlochy, rather than at a higher point of Glenspean, for the convenience of such travellers as may have occasion to take the path by Glenroy, and another about the east end of Lochlaggan, making a long stage of about twenty miles, leaving a distance of about fourteen miles to Dalwhinnie, and eleven to Garvimore.

From Inverlochy, the road, passing by a neat new church lately built, a little to the west of the town, on the right, by the fort on the left, and over the bridge of Nevis, continues its northeasterly direction along the eastern side of the river Lochy, in the line of the Glenmore, to the old castle of Inverlochy and the Loch ferry. At this place, and also at the point where the river issues from its parent lake below Highbridge on the Spean, bridges are much required to facilitate the communication between the eastern part of Lochaber and Locheil and Loch Arkeg; and when the canal shall have been finished and a new road made along the moor,

on the western side of the river, such bridges will probably be constructed, as they will then be found almost indispensable. From the old castle and ferry the road stretches for four miles further, in the same direction, along the moor, to the terrace before-mentioned, in a hollow of which, diverging from the Kilcummin road and tract of the great glen, it turns nearly due east through the Glenspean to Keppoch. The whole of the terrace is then in view, extending north-east almost to Letter Findley, the half-way house between Inverlochy and Kilcummin; and in the most elevated part of it is seen the deep narrow chasm through which the Spean river, passing under a bridge of a single arch, raised to a remarkable height above the stream, and thence termed Highbridge, rushes to the Lochy. At this part of the road the traveller is at or near the point, where the party sent from the garrison of Fort William in 1745 to crush the rebellion in its infancy, on observing the highlanders drawn up on the other side of the Spean, thought it expedient to return to the fort. The highland party, it is said, was not numerous; but by standing or marching wide of each other in the rank, and by taking hold of each other's plaids and spreading them out so as to conceal the vacancies, they con-

trived to present to persons at a distance an appearance of a long line and considerable strength. The same body of highlanders had either on that, or the day before, defeated a party of soldiers from the garrison of Fort Augustus at the north-east end of Loch Lochy; and these two events, however trifling in themselves, gave life and vigour to the subsequent operations of the rebellion, which would otherwise in all probability have been crushed in its origin. The district of Lochaber, under the influence of the Locheil and Keppoch families, chiefs of small but very warlike and devoted clans, was the heart and focus of the rebellion. The chief of Locheil had long before carried on a correspondence with the Pretender, and was particularly trusted. It is generally known that the French intended, or at least promised, to send a considerable body of troops to co-operate with the native force; and this assistance had always been calculated upon by those heads of clans, and others, who had pledged themselves to engage in the enterprise. The Pretender's son, wearied out with the delays of the French court, at length set sail, with only a few attendants, and landed on the western coast, not far from Locheil: and the chief of the Camerons, upon the intelligence of the circumstance,

waited upon the Prince for the purpose of stating his resolution not to risk the lives and fortunes of his family and clan, in a service from which, without the promised aid, no favourable result could reasonably be expected. If he had adhered to that resolution the rest would have followed the example, and there would have been then no rebellion: but the result of the interview was, that Locheil was persuaded by Charles, who was an adept in this art of a courtier, to sacrifice himself, his family, and his clan, and even his own view of what would be most conducive to the ultimate success of the Stuart cause, to the foolish impatience of the Prince. By this disinterested but besotted devotion of Locheil, the enterprise commenced, and, after some partial successes, terminated, happily for the nation, in the total extinction of the hopes of the exiled family.

From Inverlochy, almost to Keppoch, in the middle of Glenspean, the road winds along the base of the Nevis mountain, the summit of which, on this occasion, remained all along involved in those flying clouds of mist which alternately hid and displayed the tops of the stupendous, but inferior masses in its vicinity. An agreeable and not irrational amusement may be derived from observing the course of

these mists, sometimes entirely covering a range of mountains, then gradually rising or passing, and exhibiting different portions of the hills until the whole are in view ; again concealing some, and leaving others clear, and thus presenting, in constant succession, an infinite variety of magnificent scenes peculiar to those wild and grand regions. The sun at times bursts through the mists as they ascend, and displays the higher parts of the craggy masses with their long, red, dusty streaks, illuminated by the solar rays, and appearing like pillars of flame, or streams of liquid fire falling from the clouds.

The lower half of the inhabited part of Glenspean, for about eight miles from the tract of the great glen to Keppoch, is a triangular plain of considerable extent, of which a small portion, adjoining the moor of Lochaber already mentioned, is unimproved, barren, and covered with short heath ; but the greater part is rich and well cultivated, and produces excellent crops of oats, and of the best kind of barley, which, owing to the sheltered situation of the valley, and its proximity to the sea, come very early to perfection. Some instances of the old farm towns appear in the glen, and were seen a few years before in Glenroy, which may be considered as a branch of Glenspean ; but in these

cases, although the houses or cottages are crowded together, the lands are now very generally, if not universally, divided; and these little farms are usually in that state of improved cultivation which has commonly resulted from the introduction of the green rotations. At Keppoch, Glenroy diverges to the north, and Glenspean contracts into an angular point, beyond which it opens a little, and extends about seven miles further eastwards to the place where the habitable part terminates. The banks of the Spean river, in the lower division, are finely fringed with natural wood, consisting of birch, alder, oak, ash, and mountain ash; and, about the middle of the lower division of the glen, a thriving fir plantation appeared, at a neat shooting-house or hunting-box, belonging, it was said, to Baron Norton of the Exchequer, situate on a green hillock, on the north of the river. On another green woody hillock, a little higher up the river, on the same side, stands the neat parsonage and church of Kilmanivaig, and almost directly opposite, on the south side, is a very substantial farm-house, belonging, it was stated, to the venerable proprietor of *Coilachonaid*; who lately, at one of the Huntly shooting parties at Dalwhinnie, was saluted as the last of the old high-

landers. At this point, the road crossing from the south side of the Spean, over a substantial and elegant bridge, stretches along the northern bank of the river Keppoch, where there is an excellent farm house, and two slate-roofed cottages, one of which serves at present for an inn. Another substantial farm-house appears at the head of the inhabited part of the glen. These are all, or almost all, the slate-roofed buildings, at present in Glenspean, that are visible from the road ; and in Glenroy there is, or at least there was a few years ago, no building of that description. The other buildings are generally low cottages, thatched with straw or heath. Glenroy, and the higher division of Glenspean, abound in rich natural grass, both in the depth of the valleys and on the sides of the hills, affording excellent pasture for the numerous flocks of sheep which are reared in the glens, and on the adjoining mountains. This part of Lochaber is still rather thickly peopled, although the population is certainly short of what it was, when, some time before the year 1745, a chieftain of Keppoch, being asked the amount of his rent, stated it to be 500, or, as others say, 1000 men ready to take the field.

The situation, in which matters stood with respect to the possession of Glenspean and

Glenroy, for a long time before the rebellion of 1745, affords a remarkable illustration of the ancient state of property and society in the highlands of Scotland. The property of this portion of Lochaber had, from a very early period, belonged to, or was claimed by, the chiefs of the *Clanchattan* (Mackintoshes); and probably was a great cause of those deadly feuds, which occasionally prevailed between the Mackintoshes and Camerons. One of the Clanchattan chiefs, probably finding it difficult to keep possession of a territory at such a distance from the principal district of the clan in the vicinity of Inverness, gave a long lease (for 100 or 200 years) of this territory to a Macdonald, who established his residence at Keppoch, in the middle of Glenspean, and at the foot of Glenroy, the people of both glens being his sub-tenants, and generally, either by descent, or by change of name, Macdonalds. The tacksman (lessee), following the common course of highland policy, was much more anxious to crowd his land with powerful and warlike men, than to raise a large money rent, for which he had little use, except for the payment to the Mackintosh; and the people, having no communication with the landlord, nor any clear apprehension of a right unconnected with immediate

possession, their allegiance was confined to the tacksman, who soon found himself a chieftain of one of the boldest and most enterprising little bands in the highlands. The Mackintosh had the precaution to procure a crown charter of the lands, and demanded his rent, to which Keppoch replied, that his rent was 500 or 1000 men, and that he intended to pay in the same shape in which he received it. According to another account, the dispute was only about the sub-division of Glenroy, the property of which was claimed by both parties; and that when the Mackintoshes procured the charter, Keppoch said, that he disdained to hold his lands in a sheep's skin, and that his title was the claymore. The Mackintosh, knowing nothing could be done by law without the assistance of an armed force, in the reign of King William, sent his son with a strong party of his clan, aided by some soldiers from the fort, to compel payment of the rent. Keppoch, with his 500 or 1000 men, encountered the Mackintoshes near the town of Keppoch, and defeated them with great slaughter. Among the prisoners was the Mackintosh's son, whom the Keppoch men, as the story was related on the spot, with a brutal and unmanly ferocity, ill-becoming their valour, intended to butcher in cold blood as it ap-

peared; for one of them, having taken a fancy to the son's coat, insisted on having it taken off before he should be dispatched, that it might not be stained with his blood. The youth, on disengaging his arms from the coat, suddenly darted towards a spot where the Spean river runs in a narrow channel between two rocks, and, by a desperate leap gaining the other side, effected his escape. The place of his leap is still pointed out. No rent was subsequently demanded until the events of 1746, and their consequences, introduced the law and influence of the general government into the highlands, and rendered the sheep's skin too powerful for the claymore. The chieftain of Keppoch, in 1745, was no less devoted to the Stuart cause than the chief of Locheil, and supported it with the whole power of his clan, and with his own experience in war, acquired in the French service, which was considerable. He was in the battle of Culloden, and being earnestly importuned to make his escape when the day was clearly lost, he desired his friend to take care of himself, rushed into the thickest of his enemies, and was killed. It is related of one of these chieftains that, on being shown a superb chandelier, he engaged to show a finer, and produced two tall highlanders, with blazing

torches of bog fir. Representatives of the Keppoch chieftains still exist; but the territory now belongs to the chief of the Clanchattan and the Duke of Gordon, and the consequence of this once powerful family seems to be entirely extinguished.

About the time of the revolution a remarkable event took place in the Keppoch family, which is noticed in the songs of John Macdonald, better known under the name of John *Lom*, or bare John, the Keppoch bard, who flourished at that period, and had a large share in the transaction. People residing on the spot, and others, varied in their account of some of the particulars, but all were agreed in the general nature of the affair, which was this.—A chieftain of the Keppoch family sent his two sons, while very young, to France for their education, in conformity to a practice then very prevalent in the highlands, and died, leaving the administration of the business of the clan, and of the chieftain's duties, in the hands of his brother's sons, who were seven in number, until his own sons should return. They continued abroad for several years after, during which period the cousins, from their number, desperate character, proximity to the chieftainship, and extensive share of the territory, acquired a decisive in-

fluence over the minds, not only of their immediate dependants, but of the body of the clan; who, hearing nothing for a long time of the sons of their deceased lord, began to look upon the eldest of the cousins as their proper chieftain. He, on the other hand, conducted himself as the chieftain, expecting that the absent sons might by some accident be prevented from ever returning, or that, if they did return, his own power, with that of his brothers, would be sufficient to dispose of two youths, who were in a great measure strangers to the clan. A sister of the absent sons, however, still occupied the mansion house of Keppoch, along with the eldest of her cousins, and managed the female department of the chieftain's farm, frequently visited John Lom, the bard, who remained firm in his allegiance to his proper chieftain, and joined in her anxious wishes for the arrival of her brothers. The sons did at length return, and on a harvest morning unexpectedly reached Keppoch-house, to the mortification of the cousin and joy of the sister. All were eager, from different motives, to send for the other six cousins, and messengers were hastily dispatched to their several places of abode to communicate the intelligence of the safe arrival of their proper chieftain and his brother, and to request

their immediate presence at Keppoch. They all came in a few hours after, and nothing was heard but words of congratulation, with which, as it appeared to the sister, the hopes of her cousins at times but ill corresponded. Aware, however, of the attachment of the highland clans in general, and of the Keppoch clan in particular, to their chiefs and chieftains, she felt no apprehensions for her brothers, now arrived in the midst of their kindred and servants; and set about her household concerns, leaving the party together, just as her elder brother, observing that one of his cousins had but an indifferent bonnet, presented him with his own. In that patriarchal state of society it was not thought beneath the dignity of the chieftain's daughter to assist in carrying out their dinners to the reapers in the field, and the sister, having discharged that duty, returned to join the joyous company in the house. But no sound of joy was heard within as she anxiously approached the chamber-door, and hastily entered; weltering in the blood which she saw streaming from the bodies of her murdered brothers, extended on the floor, and stabbed with several mortal wounds. The cousins had left the house, and although the alarm was given, no doubt existed as to who were the

perpetrators of the deed, no attempt was made to prosecute the matter further, except by the bard, who went about among the clan, imprecating curses on the murderers, and loudly calling for vengeance. But as a combined effort was necessary for that purpose, in which no person was willing to take the lead against the power and influence of the cousins, and possibly for some other reasons which were not mentioned, John Lom found it impossible to rouse the clan, and then left the territory, both to avoid the resentment of the murderers, and to endeavour to procure the means of revenge elsewhere. He seems never to have thought that the law or general government had any concern with the matter, and all his hopes rested on assistance from the head of some kindred or friendly clan. The other chieftains of the clan, *Colla* (Macdonalds), did not, as the story was told, evince that promptitude in yielding to the bard's solicitations, which might have been expected from the circumstances, probably from an apprehension that the attempt at revenge might be resisted by the body of the Keppoch clan, since they themselves did not think proper to interfere. The bard, after traversing a great part of the western coast and the isles, among the Macdonalds, at length applied to

the head of the Seaforth family, the chiefs of which had originally been stewards to the Lords of the Isles, and resented the positive denial which he there received, by a bitter and railing philippic. Disappointment could not divert the stern spirit of John Lom from its fixed purpose, and he still, with unwearied perseverance, continued his pilgrimage of vengeance. One of the island chieftains had given a promise of aid, which he appeared afterwards inclined to evade; and, having seen John Lom coming for the third time to solicit assistance, and asked him what he had then to say, the bard roughly replied—"A chieftain of the clan *Colla* is to "be believed only when he performs, never "when he promises." That chieftain did at last send such an armed force, as was thought sufficient for the purpose by the bard, who from his observation of the temper of his own clan, concluded that, although unwilling to take the task of vengeance in their own hands, they would be but little disposed to prevent the punishment of the murderers by a kindred band. The party proceeded with all possible expedition and secrecy under the conduct of the bard, now rejoicing at the near prospect of accomplishing the object for which he had during many years unremittingly laboured;

and, having reached the Keppoch territory, it appeared that John Lom had calculated rightly as to the disposition of his clan, or had managed the matter with so much privacy and address, that the approach of danger was not known till it was too late to escape or provide for effectual defence. The murderers, closely followed, were found together about the head of the inhabited part of Glenspean; and all of them, after a desperate resistance, were put to death. This seemed hardly enough for the vengeance of the bard, who, with his Lochaber axe, hacked off their seven heads. The heads were sent to Glengary, for what reason was not mentioned, but possibly because that was the nearest territory possessed by a branch of the clan *Colla*, or perhaps because the armed force came from that quarter, and not from the isles. A well, or fountain, in Glengary, in which the heads were stated to have been washed, still, it was said, bears the name of The Well of the Seven Heads; and it was added that the present or some former chieftain of Glengary had caused seven heads to be sculptured upon a huge stone, or block of marble, in commemoration of this event.

The life of John Lom was passed in wandering about over the highlands, in the manner of the latter bards, who were mere vagrants and

sturdy beggars, but with this difference, that instead of soliciting alms by way of favour and charity, they demanded free quarters, and all the necessaries of life, as things to which they were entitled of right in virtue of their bardship. Upon this ground, land-owners, great and small, with their servants, pedlars, taylors, shoemakers, and people of all descriptions, were laid under contribution; and the danger of disputing the right was so well known from the coarse and filthy, but strong and epigrammatic railings in verse, which were vented against the very few who had the hardihood to be recusants, that the title was almost universally admitted, and the supplies promptly, if not cheerfully, furnished. Extravagant praises were the reward of particular favourites; and both in adulation and satire, all regard to truth was entirely and even professedly disclaimed. The object was, in every instance, to produce the most perfect specimen either of flattery or railing; and it was not uncommon with the bards to exercise their powers, and try the fertility of their invention, by selecting some indifferent or imaginary person, and loading him first with the grossest and most unbounded adulation, and then with the foulest and bitterest abuse. John Lom having mentioned to a favourite that

he meant to compose a song in his praise, and the other insisting that it should contain nothing but the truth; the bard, although much might with truth be said, refused to praise upon these terms. His talent, however, lay much more towards railing, which was likewise more to his taste, and better suited to the stern, sullen, and inexorable nature of his character; and many epigrammatic sayings of that description, both by him and of him, are still remembered. One of the latter kind, by a Robertson of Straloch, is a tolerably just account of the general mode of life led by the bards of the period :

John Lom the greedy,
A bard from his birth,
Ever railing and needy,
A night on each hearth.

He was naturally taciturn, and little disposed to contribute that species of amusement by singing and recitation, which the bards usually reckoned it their duty to furnish in return for their fare and accommodation; and, in one particular, like the singer Tigellius, never sung when called upon. Those who were fond of that amusement, and understood the bard's humour, commenced a blundering recitation of some favourite song or poem, upon which the

bard, after exclaiming, " Silence, beast, it was " thus said by the author," proceeded with the recitation in the proper manner. Being a keen Jacobite, like the generality of his clan, and a mortal hater of the Saxons, the public events of the time afforded him abundant subject and provocation for the exercise of his railing talent. He himself knew nothing of reading or writing, but several of his songs have been printed, and, among others, a bitter philippic against the Union between England and Scotland, which is remarkable for the cordial intensity, and perhaps for the truth and justice, of the railing against those who were instrumental in the mode of bringing about that event, and especially against a nobleman of a very ancient Scottish family, who was supposed to have received a large share of the money distributed on that occasion.

In advancing from Keppoch towards the head of Glenspean, one may observe, in the face of the ridge of hills on the south, near the summit, some traces of what seems to have been a road, and these vestiges appear more or less distinctly for two or three miles. The southern ridge is in this quarter green to the summit, and the grass rises so thick as to indicate some depth of soil. The ridge on the north of the Spean river,

is rocky, and for the most part covered with heath: and, after a close inspection from the way which stretches along its base, no corresponding traces of a road were seen on that side. Similar vestiges of roads appear among the hills behind the house of Letter Findley, and other hills in this vicinity; and in Glenroy, the roads are so broad and distinctly exhibited, as to attract the attention of every one, however careless and incurious, who passes through that valley. It has been already stated, that at Keppoch, Glenroy diverges from Glenspean, also stretching eastwards, but with a more northerly inclination, so that the valleys, at first divided only by a narrow ridge, are at their heads fifteen or twenty miles distant from each other. Glenroy is about sixteen miles long, and for eight or ten of these, in ascending from Keppoch, the banks of the river Roy are neatly fringed with natural wood; and the hollow is generally formed into fine green hillocks, like those converted, by highland and lowland superstition, into the chosen abodes of fairies, among which some grain crops are also raised in the vicinity of several farm *touns*, which a few years ago were, and probably still are, spread over this valley. Judging from the state and situation of this and many other highland glens, it would probably

be a good system of management to turn them into sheep farms, with a considerable proportion of black cattle, which in summer might be fed on the hills, and in winter on the green crops that might be produced in large rotations with the grain. For this purpose, the hollows of the valleys must be divided into substantial farms, each in the hands of one person; and the mountain ranges, when too extensive and barren for inclosure, might with proper regulations as to the stocks be pastured in common. This would in general insure the application of capital and skill, as well as industry, and would also be compatible with the retention of a great proportion of the population; which is always almost entirely swept away, when a whole valley, with a wide tract of adjoining hills, is converted into one vast sheep farm. The latter plan seems to be the favourite with those improvers who reckon the consequences to the ancient population as nothing, and may be the most profitable; but the other would be a valuable medium between the depopulating plan, and that system which makes the soil in a great measure useless, both to the cultivator and the landlord. It has been mentioned, that the separation of the little farms, and the green rotations, have produced a decided amelioration even among

the toun farms. But at the period alluded to, there were some of these touns in Glenroy, to which modern improvement did not seem to have at all reached; although one well cultivated farm was there observed, apparently in the occupation of an active and intelligent individual. Some years have elapsed since the appearance of the glen suggested these observations, and its condition may have been since altered for the better. The upper part of it, where it bends to the south, was wholly devoted to sheep pasture, and was obviously for the most part unsusceptible of tillage.

In the lower division of Glenroy, some traces of roads appear in the southern hill side near the ridge, rather more distinctly marked than in Glenspean. Approaching near the upper end of the lower division, the traveller, from a hollow in the road, ascends one of the hillocks already mentioned, and comes suddenly within close view of a high rocky dark hill, on the north of the angular point, where the glen takes its south-easterly direction, with two broad level roads, about the middle of the declivity, parallel to each other, the breadth of the roads being about fifteen yards, and of the space between them about sixty yards. The scene will hardly fail to surprise even those who have been pre-

pared to expect something of the kind, and have particularly observed the far less distinct traces of roads in the lower part of the glen, and in Glenspean. These roads continue equally broad, level, parallel, and distant from each other on the north side, for about six miles, to the head of the glen; and vestiges of corresponding roads, but much less distinctly marked, appear on the south side of the Roy river.

These places are known under the name of the parallel roads; and the first impression from their appearance would be that they were in fact roads formed by man, were it not that their situation makes it almost inconceivable for what possible purpose they could have been used as such. Many of the country people accounted for them in a way satisfactory enough to themselves, by supposing that they were made at the remote period, when the hills and valleys were covered with wood, for the convenience of hunting; the deer, when driven from the wood, naturally running along the open space, and being then more easily killed by the spear of the hunter concealed among the bushes. The length of these road-like tracts, their vicinity to each other, the exactness with which the parallel is preserved, and other circumstances do not accord well with this supposition. And the

notion of the more intelligent, even among the people of the district, was that they had been formed by water. Some reasons have been stated for the opinion that the sea, at one time, extended along the whole tract of the great glen, and from these appearances it may further, upon probable grounds, be concluded that the sea once filled, not only the Glenmore, but also the valleys of Glenroy, Glenspean, and other glens in this quarter, almost to the summits of the several lofty hills by which they are bounded. From the shape of the ground in this district, it seems impossible that a lake of such depth could have existed in these valleys in the state of fresh water, or as disjoined from the ocean; and the tracts, if at all formed by water, must have proceeded from the action of the ocean, which has now so far changed its place; and then it may be put as a question whether the plain of the terrace of Stratherrick, in the line of the Glenmore, may not have been levelled by the same means? It may also be reasonably enough concluded, that these appearances are effects of the waters of the general deluge, and whether they have resulted from that cause, or from the action of the sea at some other period, it might naturally be expected that shells and other marine substances would be found under

the surface of some parts of these remarkable tracts. Whether such things have been there discovered, or whether any search has ever been made for them, cannot here be stated. But as these roads, as they are called, have excited considerable attention, it is probable that something of that kind has been done; and it is said that the parallel roads are noticed in a work, not at present at hand, "Carlisle's Topographical Dictionary of Scotland," which may be consulted by those who are desirous of more particular information on the subject of these extraordinary appearances. Have any such traces of roads been observed in the same level on the north of the line of the Glenmore, or in other places? If nothing of that description has been seen any where else, it seems singular that such vestiges should be confined to the district of Lochaber, and the southern side of the great glen.

The stretch, from the head of Glenroy to Garvimore in Badenach, is at least fourteen miles long, over a flat moor, having the mountain of Corriarrak and the road from Fort Augustus on the north-east, and several lofty hills on the south-west. About the middle of this moor, seven miles from the point where the parallel roads terminate, and but little elevated above

that point, is the general ridge of Scotland, and the line of division between the districts of Lochaber and Badenach in that quarter, some of the streams from the neighbouring mountains running westward in the Roy, the Spean, and the Lochy to the Atlantic, and others flowing eastwards in the river Spey to the German Ocean.

In the lower division of Glenspean, the grain crops, notwithstanding the wetness of the season, had long before this time (early in October) been housed, and the fields began to appear bare and withered. But in the upper division, or what may be called the pastoral part of the glen, vegetation seemed to be still in full vigour, so that at this period the higher portion of the valley presented the gayer and fresher aspect; and the agreeable feeling produced by this circumstance was considerably increased on observing the unexpectedly crowded state and apparently comfortable condition of the population. The road, after crossing the Spean below Keppoch, continues on the northern bank all along to its source, on the confines of Badenach; and, about a mile above Keppoch, passes by a neat Roman Catholic chapel. A large proportion of the people of this glen, and of some other highland districts, are still of the

Roman Catholic religion, the reformation having never taken such deep root in the highlands as it did in the lowland division of Scotland. The difference naturally resulted from the particular political condition of the mountaineers, who were much less exposed to the pernicious effects of royal misgovernment or clerical abuse. The sweeping consequence of the modern improvements in farming have done much, and will do more, to get rid of the religion and the people together, except in some parts of the west highlands, where the fisheries will make both more stationary. In a district on the western coast, with a population of about 700 persons, it is said that almost all are Roman Catholics; and this is the quarter of the highlands, to which the attention of those who take a particular concern in assisting the effects of the general progress of information, in promoting a purer system of Christian faith, ought to be, and probably is, specially directed. The contraction of the glen brings the road close upon the bank of the Spean, now dashing along its more narrow and rugged channel, with increased noise and violence, and continues it almost upon the brink of the river, till it reaches the head of the inhabited part of the valley, and the neat farmhouse before mentioned, placed in a fine pas-

toral situation, with rich green fields and several straw or heath-thatched cottages in its immediate vicinity, bounded by dark hills and stupendous mountains. From this point, the hills of the southern ridge are thrown back, and the glen opens into a wide circular moorish plain, to which some rich herbage, springing up among the heath, gives a fertile and pleasant appearance. The moor is watered by two branches of the Spean, one from the east, which is the main stream, the other from the south, which, midway between the mountains where it rises, and the hills on the north, exhibits, as it appears from the road, a singular water-fall. The roar of the torrent at this point, rendered louder and more distinct by the echo of the mountains, and the sequestered situation and deep solitude of the surrounding scenery, attracts the attention of the traveller, who observes with surprise the shining rush of the current, apparently higher than its banks. The rock below, as it seems, sends up a sharp edge, extending across the whole breadth of the channel; and the water, dashing down upon this with considerable force, bounds foaming over the rock, presenting in its fall on the other side a brilliant and picturesque cascade.

The road, skirting the base of the hills on the

north, stretches for about seven or eight miles along the moor and northern bank of the principal branch of the Spean to the western end of Loch Laggan, from which the river issues.

The mountains in this tract are generally as lofty and stupendous as in any quarter of the highlands ; but they are covered to the summits with short heath, intermixed with green herbage, and almost all over their bulk accessible to sheep and goats ; so that the comparative fertility appeared very remarkable to one who had but a short time before seen the moor of Rannoch, and the black mountain, with the Etie Shepherd, and other wild masses of Glenco. On approaching near Loch Laggan, the wide moor terminates, and the space between the mountains is again contracted into a narrow valley, the plain or hollow of which, from this point for nine or ten miles to the general ridge, contains some of the finest and richest of highland pasture, especially on some fields on the banks of the river, which flows into the eastern end of Loch Laggan. The description which has been given of that lake in the General Report of Scotland, is that it “ is situate in the
“ territory of Lochaber, about twelve miles
“ south of Fort Augustus, about eight miles
“ long, and one and a half broad, and lies in a

“ wild romantic country, surrounded with high hills and much natural wood.” The lake, which is probably farther from Kilcummin by some miles, than the distance above mentioned, is embosomed in a wood, chiefly birch, intermixed with several other kinds (among which some oaks were observed), which extends along the whole of its length on both sides. The birch-trees in the wood, on the north side, through which the road passes, are almost all nearly rotten with age, and in a very few years none of them will be standing. Some of the other trees were sound and thriving. The wood on the south side appeared to be altogether much more abundant and flourishing; and it has been said that, in the middle of it, there is a spot which has been regarded in the vicinity with superstitious veneration from the most ancient times, and is thought to have been the burial place of the Caledonian kings, when they had the seat of government at Dunkeld. On a huge rock, near this place, the remains of a fortification are stated to be still visible. In this lake, there are two islets, one of which is called *Elan nan cou* (the Dog Island), and from this circumstance it has been conjectured that it had been the kennel to some hunting seat, formerly established in this quarter.

On reaching a height in the valley, about two or three miles from the east end of this fine lake, the traveller is again on the general ridge of Scotland, about fifty miles north of the place where it was crossed at Tyandrum. Some of the torrents from mountains on each side, being the remotest sources of the Spean and Lochy, run to the westward in the stream, which flows into Loch Laggan, and join the frith of Lochaber and Western Ocean at Inverlochy; while others, being part of the sources of the Spey, are carried in that river to the Murray frith and German Ocean. On both sides of the ridge, the green pasture on the banks of the streams was rich and abundant, and, although unquestionably preserved for winter use, appeared astonishingly fresh considering the season of the year. Some substantial houses were seen among several straw or heath-thatched cottages, and the fields and buildings altogether had the appearance of considerable and progressive improvement. Near the road, and about the summit of the ridge, which is mossy and barren, there is a kind of whiskey house, being a mud hovel, run up in haste, apparently for the temporary purpose of taking advantage of the want of a proper inn in this vicinity. The descent from the ridge on the Badenach side, on the

verdant banks of a clear mountain stream, is, although gradual and easy, the longest and straightest pull on this very fine road ; which, about three or four miles from the height, joins the road from Garvimore to Dalwhinnie, through the upper part of the northern division of Badenach, a district which has been thus generally described : “ Badenach (the bushy country) is “ the south-east division of Inverness-shire, “ bordering on the counties of Elgin, Aberdeen, and Perth ; and extends thirty-five “ miles from east to west, and twenty at an “ average from north to south, forming an area “ of 700 square miles. It is a long valley on “ both sides of the Spey, containing a great “ proportion of fertile lands, and several miles “ of the Coillmore, or great wood of Scotland, “ as well as other natural wood and extensive “ plantations. The population is about 6000 “ in three parishes, and part of a fourth. Its “ rents are about 12,000*l.* ; and it is ornamented by an elegant villa, built by the late “ Duchess of Gordon, and by the seats of the “ different proprietors, particularly Mr. Macpherson of Cluny, Mr. Macpherson of Belville, son of the translator of Ossian’s poems, “ and Col. Gordon, of Glentromie. It abounds “ in fish, game, and beautiful scenery. Be-

“ sides stags and roes, grouse, ptarmigan, black-
“ cock, and woodcock, it has a multitude of
“ water fowl, particularly swans, that resort to
“ Loch Inseh, and its other lakes. The grazings
“ are very valuable. The Duke of Gordon is
“ superior of the greatest part, and proprietor
“ of half the district. Kingussie, the only
“ town of any consequence, is a neat well-
“ built village, containing 313 inhabitants, at
“ the time of the enumeration in 1811. It
“ was erected into a burgh of barony, in 1460.
“ The great road to Inverness passes through
“ it.”

The territory of Badenach contains two valleys, divided from each other by a long elevated moor, six miles broad, at the head or southwestern end, and gradually contracting and tapering to a point at the north-east end, where the valleys unite. The road from Garvimore to Dalwhinnie is in a direct line along the base of the ridge of hills on the west of the district, and across the upper end of the moor just mentioned, from the head of the northern to that of the southern valley, and the length is thirteen miles. The distance from Kilcummin in the great glen of Scotland, by the winding highway over the Corriarrak mountains, in a southeasterly direction, to Garvimore at the head of

the northern valley, is eighteen miles ; and from this point, the valley continues the south-easterly direction for seven miles, to the moor of division, where it turns to the north-east, the general direction of the district. The new road from Lochaber enters the upper part of the northern valley, about four or five miles below Garvimore ; at the west side of a fine broad verdant plain, over which an excellent and apparently new road stretches to a neat country church, and a kind of village on the other side, where there is a handsome bridge across the smooth, placid stream, which here exhibits nothing of the Spey's famed rapidity. This cross road seems to extend from the church and village to the mansion-house of Cluny, situate two miles below, on the eastern bank of the river, and is so superior to the public road from Garvimore to Dalwhinnie, that unless a direction-post has, since October, 1818, been erected at the place where it diverges, travellers unacquainted with the country may be readily misled. The whole of the upper part of this division of Badenach is a fine pastoral valley, with an extensive plain in the middle, watered by the winding stream of the highest branch of the Spey. It seems to be fully as thickly peopled as is compatible with its proper cultivation, and

a few good farm-houses appear among many cottages of the old highland kind. Some grain crops are raised on the level, which, with the assistance of the green rotations, come to tolerable perfection in early seasons. But from the height of the situation, the ripening of these crops can never be securely depended upon, and this part of Badenach is evidently better adapted for the pasturing of sheep and cattle, to which it seems, from the appearance of the fields, to be already in a great measure devoted. The grass on the plain, especially on the meadows next the river, although short, is thick and fine, and gives to this portion of the valley, in summer, a beautiful and verdant appearance; but at this season of the year the scene had begun to look bleak and withered. On arriving at the point where this valley turns to the north-east, one has a full view of the elegant modern mansion-house of Cluny, belonging to the chief of the Macphersons, surrounded with a thriving fir plantation. The grounds in the vicinity, however, did not seem to be laid out in a manner at all corresponding to the appearance of the mansion; and the situation will always be considered as wild, barren, and comfortless, until the hills behind, on each side, and in front, on the west side of the river, shall have

been covered with wood, to the raising of which a great part of the heathy moor, between the valleys, might well be applied, although, even in its present state, it affords some summer pasture for sheep and cattle, and excellent shelter for grouse. The northern valley, as has been mentioned, here bends towards the north-east; but the road is continued in its south easterly direction for six miles, across the moor, to Dalwhinnie, which from its name seems to have been the rendezvous, or rallying point, of the Macphersons. It is generally known that a chief of this clan was one of the most powerful supporters of the Stuart cause, in 1745-6, and assisted in concealing Prince Charles among the mountains, after the battle of Culloden, which was fought when the Macpherson was on his way to join the Stuart army, with 500 followers. It was at the head of the northern division of Badenach, that Sir John Cope received his first check, when, on perceiving the highlanders in the face of the Corriarrak mountains, he determined, instead of attacking them, to turn back to the moor of division, and proceed north-east to Inverness, probably from a notion that the highland army would follow him to some place where he might fight under less disadvantage, and that the war would thus be confined to the north of Scotland.

CHAP. X₂

FROM DALWHINNIE,

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Dalwhinnie—Grouse shooting—Spey river, forests on its banks—Road to Athol—Hills of Drumnacher—Loch Garry—Garry river—Height of Drumnacher, and descent on the Athol side—Dalnacardoch—Strathgarry—Loch Erricht—Plain of Blair—Athol, the most northerly division of Perthshire, general description—Woods—Bruar and Tilt rivers—Robbers—Plain of Urrard and battle of Rinvory—Defile of Killicrankie—Bridge of Garry—Fascally—Tummel river—Dunkeld—View from Birnam.

THE inn of Dalwhinnie, provided with every proper accommodation, is a stage on the great road from Edinburgh, through the highlands, to Inverness, on which a stage coach has been

lately established, setting out from both points twice in each week. No grain crops are raised in the immediate vicinity of Dalwhinnie, but this part of the southern valley, and the heathy hills around, produce a valuable sheep pasture; and the narrow green plain and inn, on the bank of the river, afford a pleasant relief to the eye of a traveller from the south, after the wild solitude of the long hill of Drumnacher. This place, which is said not very long ago to have formed part of the estate of the Invernahavon family, now extinct, is merged in the wide ocean of the Gordon property. The Marquis of Huntley, with a numerous company of friends and attendants, annually occupies the house as shooting quarters, during a part of the grouse-shooting season, the moors and mountains in the neighbourhood being among the best grouse-shooting grounds in Scotland; and Captain Barclay, celebrated for his attention to, and proficiency in manly exercises, this season (1818) when the game was very abundant, killed, it was said, forty brace of grouse in one day, in this vicinity. The inn, on such occasions, is conveniently relieved by a neat ale or whiskey house, about a furlong further down on the road, which forms a commodious halting station for multitudes of cattle and sheep deal-

ers and drivers, who at certain periods of the year proceed by this road to the Falkirk trysts and other fairs, and could not always be all accommodated in the inn. Some black cattle and flocks of sheep were seen on this road, also on their way to the great mart at Falkirk, which at certain periods of the year seems to crowd almost all the great roads in the north of Scotland, with the products of its moors and mountains. The road from Garvimore, a little below the plain of the inn, joins this great road to Inverness, which stretches along the northern bank of the river, through the whole length of the southern valley of Badenach, which from Dalwhinnie to Avimore, at the head of Strathspey, is about thirty miles. The lower part of the valley, seen on a former occasion, appeared to be not only rich and fertile in pasture, but capable of producing good crops of grain; and at the inn of Pitmain, the stage between Dalwhinnie and Avimore, in a deep sheltered hollow, several fruit-trees, in excellent condition, were observed. Badenach is the middle region of the three; viz. Lochaber, Badenach, and Mar, which occupy the whole breadth of Scotland from Aberdeen to Inverlochy, the two latter districts being on the east of the general ridge, the former on the west.

The branch of the Spey, which flows through the southern valley, rises about five or six miles to the south-east of Dalwhinnie, among the mountains of Drumnacher on the confines of Athol, and joins the main branch at the north-east point of the moorish hill between the two valleys. The remotest sources of the Spey however are to be found among the Corriarrak mountains and hills, of the general ridge between the Glenroy subdivision of Lochaber, and the north-western end of Badenach; and by the union of the streams from that quarter, the main branch is formed, which flows a considerable river through the northern valley. The general description which has been given of this river, is, that it “ rises from Loch Spey “ in Badenach, about ten miles south from Fort “ Augustus, and after a course pretty steadily “ of from south-west to north-east, of about “ ninety-six miles in all its windings, it falls “ into the sea about eight miles east of Elgin, “ carrying with it the waters of 1300 square “ miles. It is in magnitude the third river in “ Scotland, being the next after the Tay and “ the Tweed, and runs in general through the “ best wooded country in Scotland; the vast “ forests of Abernethy, Glenmore, and Kingussie, being on its banks, or on those of its tri-

“ butary streams, extending in succession thirty
“ or forty miles, and containing some of the
“ finest timber in Scotland, or perhaps in Bri-
“ tain.” Great floats of the timber are sent
down the river to Garmouth, the point where
it falls into the Murray firth ; and to prevent the
trees from being shivered in passing the great
cataracts of the river, canals have been cut in
the banks with a gentle slope, down which the
wood is directed. It is the most rapid river in
Scotland, and the fall from the boat of Bog to
the sea, a stretch of only three miles, is sixty
feet.

From Dalwhinnie, the road stretches south-
east over a moorish tract, with rather a steep
ascent, for five or six miles to the height be-
tween Badenach and Athol. Immense moun-
tains, covered with heath, rise on each side, and
no human habitation is in view, except a shep-
herd's cottage, lately built ; and no spot of green
herbage, unmixed with heath, cheers the desolate
expanse. But the wild bare masses of Glenco
were remembered, and an agreeable impression
was conveyed by the comparative fertility of the
dark mountains and moors of Drumnacher.
The grouse, notwithstanding the slaughter of
the season by the Marquis of Huntley's friends
and others, were observed early in the morning

running along the road-side in numerous covies. Passing the sources of the Spey, and the waters that run to the north-east, one arrives on the most elevated point of the road in this quarter, and observes the stream of the Garry running to the south-east. On this height there is a broad verdant plain covered with short but remarkably fine and thick grass, with a handsome slate-roofed cottage, apparently a hunting or shooting box, for which the situation is admirably adapted. The mountains open on the north, and in the vale between is seen Loch-Garry, with the large stream issuing from it, and running directly east along the Athol side of the green to the opening through which the road passes, where it receives its southerly direction. Loch-Garry is four miles long, and half a mile broad, and with its tributary streams forms one of the sources of the Tay. The traveller, having passed the height, is again in Perthshire, and in the division of Athol, and descends by the side of the stream of the Garry, through a scene of rather increased barrenness, for seven miles, to Dalnacardoch, at the head of Strathgarry; the distance between Dalwhinnie and the inn of Dalnacardoch being altogether thirteen miles, across the hill of Drumnacher, the wildest and most rugged part of the whole stretch from

Edinburgh to Inverness, with the exception perhaps of two or three miles in the vicinity of Loch-Móy, in the territory of the Clanchattan. On the Athol side of the Drumnacher road, a huge stone is set on end, with a date marked upon it, probably the time when the road was first made.

The inn of Dalnacardoch, like all those on this great thoroughfare, is provided with all the accommodations that can reasonably be required. The road to Falkirk by Tummel Bridge, Aberfeldie, Amulrie, Crief, and Stirling, here diverges to the south, and the Athol road, continuing its south-easterly direction, descends through the valley of Strathgarry for eleven miles to Blair. The banks of the Garry are here in many places adorned with natural wood, and the Strath, like the higher portions of Badenach, is a fine pastoral valley, but much better adapted to the rearing of sheep and cattle, than to arable cultivation; although some grain crops are also produced. In passing a torrent, about five miles below Dalnacardoch, a romantic waterfall may be observed through an opening in the side wall of the bridge. Four miles above Blair, the Garry receives the stream of the Ericht from the valley of Glenerrochy, opening to the west, through which a country road stretches to the

district of Rannoch, situate between Athol and Braidalbane. This stream issues from Loch Ericht, which extends from the vicinity of Dalwhinnie in Badenach, for fourteen miles south-west, in the direction of Rannoch, so that it is partly in Inverness-shire, and partly in Perthshire. This lake is three-fourths of a mile broad, and is surrounded with much natural wood, in which Prince Charles lay concealed for some time after the battle of Culloden. From this point the hills open on each side, and the united streams flow for about four or five miles through the fine broad and fertile plain, called the Blair of Athol, a rich level or *haugh* on the banks of the Garry, apparently fitted for the production of all the grain crops that are raised in any quarter of Scotland. In looking down from the height above the junction of the Garry and Ericht upon this plain, with the thick wood consisting of old spreading oaks, and every variety of the best timber trees that grow in the kingdom, at its southern extremity, around the mansion-house of the Duke of Athol, and the pine forests which rise on the hill-sides, it naturally occurs to one who has traversed the round here described, that a scene at once so rich and so grand has never met his eye, since he left Strath Tay; and with that exception, Athol

altogether is probably the finest of highland valleys.

The district of Athol has been thus generally described. " Athol (pleasant land) the most
" northerly division of Perthshire, a very mountainous district, the precise limits of which
" are not very clearly defined : but is understood to include all that part of the county,
" whose waters fall into the Tay from the east above Dunkeld, and all to the northward of
" Braidalbane, except Rannoch. The face of
" the country is one continued range of mountains, which are intersected with many rapid
" rivulets confined in narrow glens. These
" formerly were thickly clothed with forest timber of all kinds, the extent of which is
" much reduced, as wood is to be found now only in the most sheltered places. In the
" bottoms of the glens, by the sides of the rivulets, there are many strips of arable land;
" which, where not overrun with gravel brought down by the floods, produce good crops of
" bear, oats, and potatoes, for the support of a population of 15,000. These are to be found
" almost exclusively on the banks of the principal streams, the Tay, the Tummel, the
" Garry, and the Tilt, and around the mansions
" of the respective chieftains, which are set

“ down amidst natural woods, and have lately
“ been adorned with plantations. Athol was
“ formerly one of the best hunting districts in
“ Scotland, and much celebrated on that ac-
“ count. But now that the native woods have
“ in a great measure disappeared, the herds of
“ deer have diminished, and given place to the
“ more useful animal, the sheep, of which there
“ are now many thousands fed on the different
“ ranges of the mountains, besides a numerous
“ breed of good highland cattle. There still,
“ however, remains a considerable number of
“ red deer, more especially in the Duke of
“ Athol's extensive domains about Blair, where
“ indeed there is a very great quantity of natu-
“ ral wood, as well as many new plantations.
“ This Alpine territory extends over about 450
“ square miles. It gives the title of Duke to
“ the chief of the Murrays—a name little
“ known in the district. The Stewarts, the
“ Robertsons, and the Fergusons, are the
“ most prevalent clans.” Much of the woods
which now cover extensive tracts of hill and
dale, moor and mountain, in the vicinity of the
Blair of Athol and Dunkeld, is said to owe its
origin to the present Duke, who has paid great
attention to the raising of forest timber, and
still continues annually to plant trees by thou-

sands, and sometimes by millions. The wide waste which at present is of such little comparative use to society, is thus converted into a treasure for posterity, and rendered an object of the highest public importance and utility; since ages will still probably elapse before the extensive tree-less forests of Athol can be planted, so as very materially to diminish the sheep pastures. These forests have long been celebrated as hunting grounds, and the magnificent hunt made for James the Fifth, by an Earl of Athol, is generally known. Some vestiges of the old feudal customs and manners appear in the practice of the present Duke of Athol, who still annually hunts the deer with a numerous train, while grouse shooting, and trout fishing in the numerous lakes scattered among these mountains, serve to vary the amusement. The sport of salmon-fishing with the rod, which had been destroyed by the stake nets in the firth of Tay, will now be revived in this region, and form an agreeable relaxation for the proprietors on the banks of the Garry, the Tummel, and the Tay.

Blair Castle, as it is called, which, before it was besieged by the rebels in 1746, was seven stories high, with turrets and vaulted rooms, is now reduced to two stories, and as seen from

the road considerably disappointed the expectations, which had been formed of seeing a magnificent ducal mansion-house. Within, however, the house is remarkably complete, and well-furnished, and every thing has been done by the noble owner to give the most picturesque effect to the natural beauty and grandeur of the objects around it; especially on the banks of the rivers that water the plain, viz. the Garry, the Bruar, and the Tilt, the last of which streams, issuing from a lake among the mountains of Athol, flows through the valley of Glentilt (of which the geology has been lately particularly described by Dr. Macculloch), and, running through the Duke's grounds, joins the Garry at the southern extremity of the plain. The walks cut through the rocks in the deep romantic den through which the Tilt passes, and on the sides of the Bruar, with its picturesque waterfalls, and natural bridge of rock, the gardens, and the variety of singular and beautiful trees scattered over the grounds, well deserve the attention of the tourist, although here not particularly described. The Blair of Athol was one of the stations, where the Dukes and Marquisses of Athol held their courts of justice before the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions; and anecdotes are still in circulation respecting some

of the thieves and murderers executed there a short time previous to the last rebellion, whose cases presented any thing remarkable. The trade of robbery and theft among these hills was decisively checked after 1746 ; and many, by whom it had been formerly carried on to a great extent, abandoned it as too hazardous. Some of them afterwards, when advanced in age, freely and even with high satisfaction, detailed their youthful dexterous feats in the abstraction of black cattle and horses and sheep, although they had taken the prey wherever they found it, careless whether it belonged to friend or enemy ; which, according to the old highland notions, was the disgraceful kind of thieving, usually concluding with a sigh that they had never known poverty till they had become honest. A John Stewart, better known under the name of John Ower Olk, a distinguished Glentilt robber, well remembered by some now alive, and leader of a considerable band, who, besides his gains by robbery, raised no indifferent revenue in the way of black mail, looked back in his old age upon the exploits of his early years with great complacency, except one act, which as he himself declared, lay heavy on his conscience. Having, when on an expedition with some attendants to Glenisla in Angus, met near their

point of destination a man who, if allowed to escape, would give the alarm in sufficient time to prevent their success altogether, or expose them to a hot pursuit, he bound him hand and foot, and left him in a secret hollow in the hill, intending to release him on his return. In consequence of some subsequent occurrence, he returned by another route, leaving the man to his chance of relief from some other quarter. Passing the same way some months after, he looked into the hollow and saw a human skeleton. Even these general and professed thieves, including the celebrated band of Rannoch, seem to have been desirous to carry on as much of their business as they conveniently could upon the lowland borders, because the plunder of the lowlands was considered as perfectly lawful; and after the political state of the highlands had been entirely altered by the subversion of the independence of the clans and power of the chiefs, these notions still continued to prevail, till a course of very rigid administration of the law taught the great body of the people that it was illegal to plunder the inhabitants of the plains. The three sky-covered summits of the vast mountain of Beinglo, 3459 feet above the level of the sea, are seen towering above all the other lofty hills in this quarter.

The village of Blair consists of only a few cottages, and the inn. A little to the south-east of the village the valley contracts, and the fine mansion-house and woody grounds of Lude appear in the face of rich green hills above the road on the east side of the Garry, opposite to which, on the west side, is seen the house and grounds of Shiarglas, in the steep face of a green ridge. About four miles further on, the road, after passing the farms of Strathgroy and the Clunes, reaches the plain of Urrard or Rinrory, the scene of the battle of Killicrankie, in which Claverhouse fell, and with him the best hopes of King James. His death prevented the pursuit, which would have been very destructive to the troops of King William, in their retreat through the pass which commences at the south-east end of the field. The hills on each side, rising almost perpendicular with a thick covering of short natural wood, are protruded towards each other, so as to fill and shut up the whole valley, except the deep and narrow bed of the Garry. The road winds along the steep declivity of the eastern hill, hanging over the dark and profound abyss, from which, (the lowest bottom being generally concealed from sight by the uniting branches of the horizontally-growing trees,) is heard the distant but loud roar of the

flood struggling along its rugged channel, and maddened by the constant succession of rocky obstructions that oppose its furious course. At the south-eastern extremity of this strait, now easily traversed since the broad road has been cut in the hill side, but formerly dangerous to pass in the face of any hostile opposition, a road diverges to the west, along a bridge of one arch, resting on opposite rocks, thrown across the Garry, and through the romantic wood of Coilbthrochan, towards Tummel Bridge and Rannoch. The bridge, deep in the dell below the line of the road, but raised high above the lowest gulf and dark flow of the river, was built, in this picturesque situation, in 1770, soon after eighteen persons had been drowned in crossing the flood in a ferry-boat. Among the woods of Coilbthrochan may be seen the celebrated falls of the Tummel, with the cave in the rocks above, where, as before mentioned, a party of the Macgregors, after their proscription in the reign of James the Sixth, for the massacre of the Colquhouns, were surprised; and where some of them, by the cutting of a tree growing horizontally from a cleft in the rocks, to the branches of which they clung, precipitated into the abyss.

On the south-east of the pass appears another

plain, with the mansion of Fascally fronting the point, where the Tummel from the west dashes down through a long and wide range of rocks and wood, wildly yet richly mingled, to the hollow of the valley, where it joins the Garry. A lofty, greenish, but craggy hill rises behind on the east, the only one which in this quarter is destitute of wood; the other hills and dales, in the vicinity of this most romantic and charming spot, having their rude grandeur and wildness so softened and enriched with such abundance and variety of natural and planted woods, that the impression on viewing the scene is that of pure and unalloyed delight, which, in the minds of those keenly alive to these beauties of nature, will approach to ecstasy. The observation applies in a great degree to the whole stretch of the Athol valley, from the Blair to the point of junction of the Tummel and Tay, which, although less open than the fine broad valley of Strath Tay, in the tract between Logierait and the Ballach, is perhaps more remarkable for varied and picturesque scenery. The highest sources of the Tummel are to be found among the mountains around Loch Lyddoch, observed, as already mentioned, on the general ridge from the base of the black mountain in Glenurchay, from

which lake the collected streams fall into Loch Rannoch, extending for fifteen or sixteen miles along that division of Perthshire. Issuing a considerable river from the south-east extremity of Loch Rannoch, the base of the celebrated conical mountain of Schehallien, 3281 feet above the level of the sea, it rushes rapidly for several miles, passing the inn of Tummel bridge, ten miles distant from that of Dalnacardock on the Garry, to Loch Tummel. From that lake it runs furiously through Strath Tummel, and joins the Garry at Fascally in Athol. The name of Garry is then merged in that of Tummel, and the road stretches along the eastern bank of the united flood through the neat and thriving village of Pitlochrie, the hollow of Moulin, and by the inn of Moulin Arn to the point of the Logierait table-land. Among the trees which rise on the sides of the road, and adorn the whole extent of this noble valley, the favourite oak is remarkable here, as well as in the neighbouring valley of Strath Tay, from the sapling to the tree of 50 or from that to 100 years growth. The arable land on the banks of the river, on the hills-sides, and in the recesses of Moulin and Tullimet, is considerable in quantity and fertile in quality; and in the tract from Logierait to Dunkeld wheat has been

raised. But barley in these districts is generally found a much more profitable crop than wheat, from the demand for it on the spot for ordinary consumption, and for the purposes of the distiller, legal and illegal. From the junction of the rivers Tummel and Tay, and the valleys of Athol and Strath Tay, at Logierait, for three or four miles to Dalguise, on the south-west bank of the Tay, and the farm of Dowally on the north-east, the character of the country closely resembles the valley of Strath Tay, particularly in the wide-spreading plains or *haughs* on the banks of the Tay; and then the hills on the north-east being protruded to the brink of the river, the resemblance is continued on the opposite bank for two or three miles further, when the valley contracts on both sides, for about two miles, until it opens into the hollow recess and plain of Dunkeld. These recesses, it is observable, occur at short intervals during the whole stretch from the Blair to Dunkeld, some of them forming deep *corries* in the mountainous range which bounds the valley on the east or north-east. Among the mansion-houses in the tract of the united valleys, that of Tullimet on the north-east side, and those of Kinnaird and Dalguise on the south-west bank of the river, are distinguishable. That of Kin-

naird is particularly remarkable for the romantic beauty of its situation, at the foot of a fine wooded rock hanging over the branch of the river, and the spirited improvements of its present proprietor; although considerable improvements have been also effected in the tract by the proprietors of Dalguise and Tullimet, and by some of the tenants of the Athol property.

The hollow of Dunkeld is the most southern of the recesses before-mentioned, and its wild and magnificent, rich, and picturesque scenery has been often the subject of admiring attention.

In approaching from the north, the traveller, after passing the narrow defile between the rocks of Craighbarns on the left, and Craighbinnen, on the right, impending over the mighty flood of the rapid Tay, sees before him an open irregularly circular space, formed by the receding of the hilly ranges, which about two miles to the south are again advanced towards the river, the north-eastern range being protruded to the very brink, while on the opposite side, the more contracted plain is continued for about two miles further to the point, where the masses of Newtyle and Birnam almost meet across the river, and close the

scene in that direction. The whole extent of these wide *corries* and lofty ranges, except the greatest part of Birnam, is filled with wood from the summits of the hills to the depth of the plain, so as nearly to hide the fields and buildings of various descriptions which are scattered around. The rocks of Craigharns in the north-eastern range are seen shooting up in fantastic spires from its top, and jutting out in rugged masses from its side, among the forest of pines spread thick over the ridge and steepest declivities, and overhanging the woody hillocks, interspersed with green fields immediately below. On the lowest level appear, in the midst of deep groves of tall oaks and other timber trees, the ducal mansion with its verdant lawn, gardens, and offices, the town of Dunkeld, with the ruins of the ancient cathedral and its still entire and elegant tower, divided from the villages of little Dunkeld and Inver, and rich pasture and corn-fields, under the wood-covered steeps of the opposite range, by the strong and majestic sweep of the broad river, rolling its vast weight of waters under the wide and lofty arches of the noble bridge, the finest, perhaps, in Scotland. In immense scale and wild grandeur the scene at the Balloch exceeds; but for the union of grandeur

with various and picturesque beauty, Dunkeld might have the preference, if the Birnam mountain had been covered with wood, and the ducal mansion-house had better corresponded with the surrounding objects. The present bare and bleak appearance of Birnam, which seems to have derived its name and distinctive character from its former woody covering, is a palpable defect in the general view, and the ducal grounds in this quarter will never be complete, until the wood shall have been restored, and the gravel walks extended in both ranges, from Craighbarns to the hill of Newtyle, and from Craighbinnen to the summit of Birnam. If the hill and level of the Fernyhaugh, to the north of the King's seat and Craighbarns, were also planted with oak corresponding to the oak plantations among the opposite rocks, the scene would be considerably improved. Some points, in the walks among the woods and precipices of Craighbarns and Craighbinnen, command a fine and distinct view of the several objects in the recess of Dunkeld, of the hills of the north and west, and of the Stormont on the east ; and a better view of the plains, and perhaps of the northern hills, might be had from the mass of Newtyle. But the top of the Birnam mountain presents one of the

most extensive and finest prospects in the world. On one side the eye rests upon nearly the whole extent of the valley of Strathmore, from Stirling to Stonehaven, the plain of Perth Proper, the Carse of Gowrie, including a great portion of the richest champaign tract in Scotland. The spectator turns round, and the scene, instantly changed, as it were by magic, presents an innumerable series of wild mountains rising behind mountains until they are lost in the clouds of the distant horizon. Below are observed the romantic corries of Dunkeld, with all their woods, rocks, and green fields, the town, villages, bridge, and also the course of the Tay, from a considerable distance to the north, through the hollow of Dunkeld, under the thick forest of oaks, in the steep face of the opposite declivity, under the brow of the rock of Newtyle, and along the plain of Perth, to the Firth of Tay. Birnam, it is believed, belongs in whole or in part to the Grantully family, whose mansion-house of Murthy is seen below on the bank of the river, nearly opposite the Newtyle hill: otherwise, supposing it had belonged to the family of Athol, it would probably have been long ago covered with wood, and included in the Duke of Athol's grounds. In the view from Birnam, the hill of

Dunsinane appears rising from the Sidla ridge, an object which, more particularly as seen from that point, the genius of Shakspeare has impressed with deep and lasting interest.

The hills about Dunkeld, and the hazels with which they are supposed to have been formerly covered, have been supposed to have given name to the town, and the Caledonian branch of the Pictish nation. Whether that notion be correct, or another supposition is to be preferred, that the name of the town means the hill of the mountain Gaels, in either case this seems to have been in very remote times a place of considerable consequence, probably the capital of the Caledonian dominions. About the first dawn of Christianity among these mountains, it was erected into a monastery, which, in 1180, was converted into a bishopric, and the lands on the south-west bank of the river, from Dunkeld to Logierait, are still called the bishopric, from having formerly belonged to the see. The choir of the cathedral, built in 1350, and now used as a parish church, the charter-house, built in 1469, and the tower, still remain entire. An offer by Charles the Second to erect the town into a royal burgh was declined, and the present consequence of the town depends chiefly on its vicinity to the ducal residence,

the beauty and grandeur of the surrounding scenery, and its situation on one of the great roads leading into and out of the highlands. The manufacturing of linen, and the commerce both in the raw material and manufactured article, are carried on to a considerable extent. The banking trade of the place has of late greatly increased, probably owing to the improvements introduced in the neighbouring highlands, and the more active and extensive commerce in cattle, sheep, wool, hides, and other commodities. Six annual fairs are held there, one of which, held at Martinmas, is a great cattle fair. Some remains of a bridge over the Tay, built by the celebrated bishop Gavin Douglas, about the year 1516, are still visible on the north-west of the town. The present noble structure was lately built by the existing Duke of Athol, in a great measure, it is said, at his own expense, upon the security of the toll, which cannot be expected to compensate the loss of the ferries, and to pay the interest of the money expended. The want of a bridge in this situation had been long felt as a most serious inconvenience and obstruction to the communication between the highlands and lowlands of this great thoroughfare ; and its erection is a work of vast public utility, besides adding in a very

material degree to the admired scenery of the situation. Since the bridge was built, the appearance of the town has been considerably altered; part of the houses of the old street, which lay in direction between north-west and south-east having been thrown down, and a new street formed in the direction of north-east and south-west. A thriving nursery has been lately established at Little Dunkeld.

The Hermitage, as it is called, and the scenery on the banks of the stream of Bran, which, descending from the beautiful pastoral valley of Strathbrand in Braidalbane, falls into the Tay at Dunkeld, well deserve a visit from the tourist, although a particular description of these and the rest of the scenery about Dunkeld would require more space than can here be allowed for that purpose. The road, crossing the Tay, stretches south-east along the base of the Birnam mountain, which contains an excellent slate quarry, to the mouth or gate of this Grampian defile, and from thence along the open plain to the town of Perth. Mr. Gray, the author of the "Elegy in a Country Church-yard," who visited Dunkeld in 1766, gives an accurate general description of the scenery in approaching it from the south.—
"The road came to the brow of a steep

“ descent, and between two woods of oak we
“ saw far below us the Tay come sweeping
“ along, at the bottom of a precipice at least
“ 150 feet deep, clear as glass, full to the
“ brim, and very rapid in its course. It
“ seemed to issue out of woods thick and tall,
“ that rose on either hand, and were overhung
“ by broken rocky crags of vast height.
“ Above them to the west the tops of
“ higher mountains appeared, on which the
“ evening clouds reposed. Down by the side
“ of the river, under the thickest shades, is
“ seated the town of Dunkeld : in the midst
“ of it stands a ruined cathedral, the towers
“ and shell of the building still entire : a little
“ beyond it a large house of the Duke of
“ Athol, with its offices and gardens, extends
“ a mile beyond the town ; and, as his grounds
“ are intersected by the streets and roads, he has
“ flung arches of communication across them
“ that add much to the scenery of the place.”

THE END.

